JOURNAL

of The New Haven Colony Historical Society

F
98
.N3
J68
v. 31
no. 3

VOL 31 / NO 3

SUMMER 1985

THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
114 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut 06510

OFFICERS

Donald L. Perlroth, *President*
Gilbert Kenna, *Vice-President*
F. Aldrich Edwards, *Treasurer*
Nancy O. Alderman, *Assistant Treasurer*
Richard Hegel, *Vice-President*
Charles C. Kingsley, *Secretary*
Richard K. Mazan, *Assistant Secretary*
Floyd M. Shumway, *Executive Director*

DIRECTORS

Mrs. Richard F. Ballard
Mrs. Ernest Cassella
Gerald S. Clark
Frederick W. Farnsworth
Mrs. Samuel A. Galpin
Virginia M. Hepler
Arthur G. Isack
Mrs. Chester Kerr
Louis I. Kuslan
Howard R. Lamar
John E. Loeb
John O. C. McCrillis
Priscilla Searles
Brooks Shepard, Jr.
Reverdy Whitlock
William A. Wiedersheim
Frank Winder
Rosanne Zudekoff

HONORARY DIRECTORS

Mrs. Stuart H. Clement
Mrs. John F. Fulton
Ralph H. Gabriel
Richard Hooker, Jr.
John D. Kernan
Hon. Herbert S. MacDonald
W. Ogden Ross
Dr. Howard W. Smith
Henry H. Townshend, Jr.
Raynham Townshend

JOURNAL EDITOR

Lawrence Kenney

STAFF

Floyd M. Shumway, *Executive Director*
Ottilia Koel, *Librarian and Curator of Manuscripts*
Lysbeth Andrews-Zike, *Public Service Librarian*
Patricia J. Bromley, *Archivist*
Ruth B. Knowlton, *Catalogue Librarian*
Carole Jasuirkowski, *Bookkeeper*
Joan M. Parks, *Administrative Assistant*
Robert Egleston, *Curator*
Lucinda Burkepile, *Curator of Photographs*
Walter Moriarty, Jr., *Curator of Education*
Patrick McManus, *Custodian*

GUARDS

Melville C. Greeley
Edward G. Kusterer
Patrick McKeon
Frank Somma

THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY was founded in 1862 by a representative group of New Haven citizens. As stated in the Constitution adopted by the Society, revised in 1965:

"The object of the Society shall be the collection, preservation and publication of historical and genealogical matter relating to the early settlement and subsequent history, especially of New Haven and its vicinity, and incidentally of other portions of the United States."

The museum and library of the Society are open to the public. There is a fee of $2 to non-members for use of the library; the museum is open free of charge. In addition to the Whitney Avenue building, the Society owns the Pardee-Morris House at 325 Lighthouse Road, Morris Cove, New Haven. Built originally about the middle of the eighteenth century, it was burned during the British invasion in 1779. Rebuilt at once, it incorporates surviving portions of the older structure. The Pardee-Morris House is now restored and furnished appropriately and is open to the public during the summer months.

PUBLISHED BY THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ISSUED PERIODICALLY
THROUGH A BEQUEST OF GEORGE DUDLEY SEYMOUR

Membership in the Society carries with it a subscription to the JOURNAL.

Second Class Postage PAID at New Haven, Conn.

CONTENTS

The Urban World as New Haven's Founders Knew It
Floyd M. Shumway page 3

New Haven's 1783 Peace Flag
John B. Kirby, Jr. page 21

Colonial Vessels
Virginia M. Galpin page 25

Carl Purington Rollins at Yale
R. Gay Walker page 39

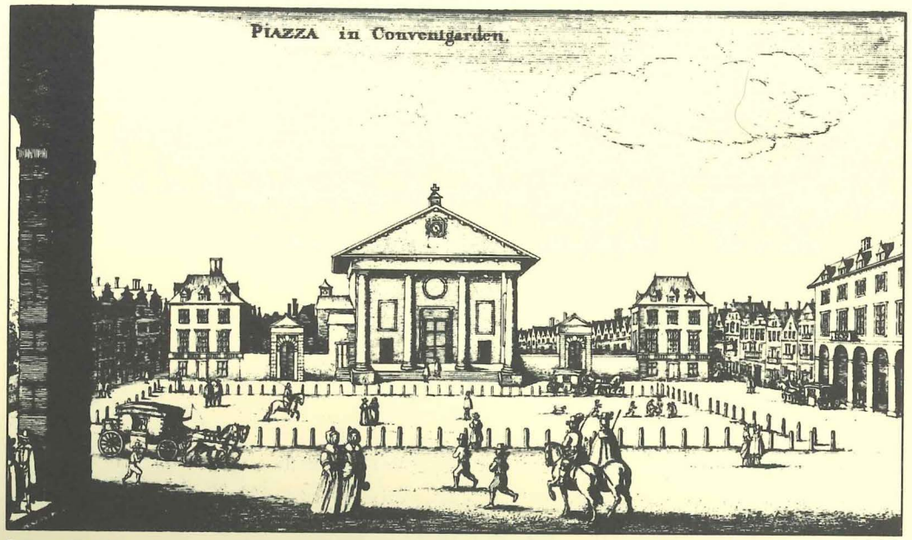
Reflections of a New Haven Typographer
John O. C. McCrillis page 51

Fine Press Printing: The Meriden Gravure Company
Eleanor Kelman page 61

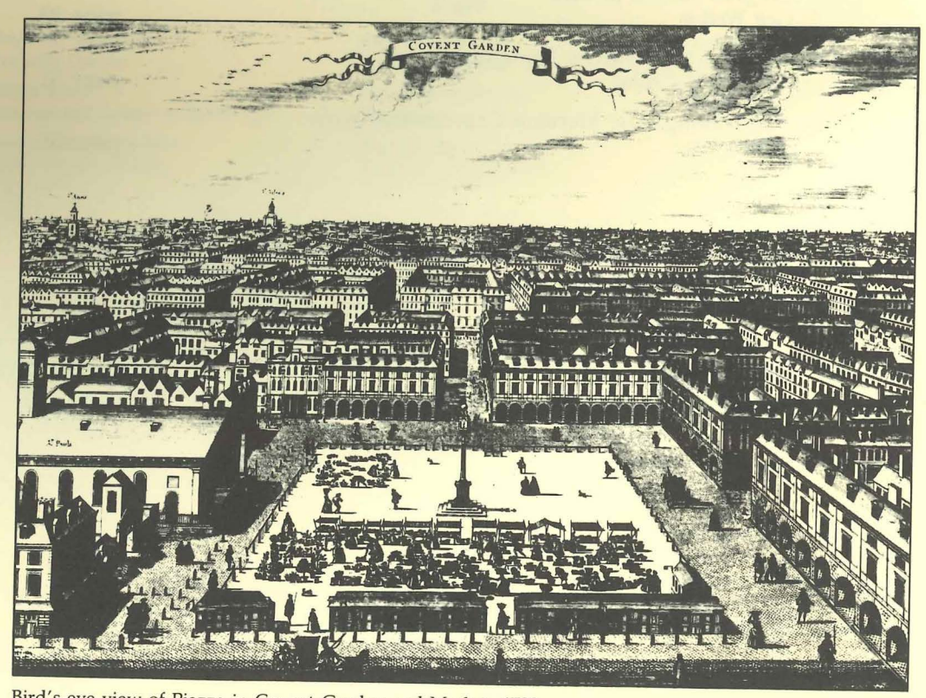
Cover: Copenhagen, c. 1630–1640, still looked like a medieval city in spite of much recent Renaissance construction.

The New Haven Colony Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of contributors. Permission to abstract is granted if proper credit is given.

Copyright © 1985



Covent Garden, shown in 1640, one of only two Renaissance buildings erected in London prior to the departure of New Haven's founders.



Bird's-eye view of Piazza in Covent Garden and Market, 1720.

The Urban World As New Haven's Founders Knew It

by Floyd M. Shumway

A group of five hundred or so colonists founded New Haven on April 24, 1638, determined to make it a major port and an important trading center. Who were these people and who particularly were the men who gave the venture its leadership? What had their training and experience taught New Haven's founders about cities and about how to plan and govern and live in them? These men and women had rather considerable knowledge of the northern European urban world, especially that part of it which was in England or was scattered along the coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic.

There is misunderstanding about the earliest New Englanders. Because approximately three-fifths of the original residents of Boston and the other Massachusetts Bay towns came from rural East Anglia and only about one-fifth from London, there is a natural tendency to assume that New England was settled largely by country people, some of them members of the gentry, others from less elevated levels of society, but all armed with country skills and outlooks.[1] Actually this assumption is not valid everywhere and certainly not in New Haven, where half of the first population was from London and the counties immediately around it and only one-tenth was from the Eastern Counties.[2] New Haven was also unusual in other important respects. It adhered to an unusually severe form of Puritanism. It may well have had the greatest per capita wealth of any town in the region at the time of settlement.[3] It also had an exceptionally high percentage of people who had lived in cities. Thirty-one of the original proprietors were from London and about an equal number had resided in other English cities, including ten in York and smaller numbers in Bedford, Chester, Coventry, Derby, Hertford, Lincoln, and Warwick.[4] In addition seven men, including some of the city dwellers, had spent time abroad, one in Denmark and Poland and the others in Holland and elsewhere in the Low Countries.[5]

Western cities have been important twice, in Classical times and from the Middle

Ages until the present. Since New Haven's founders knew only late medieval cities which were just starting to become early modern cities, we may for our purposes largely ignore the rise and fall of the ancient metropolis, sketching only the broadest outlines of early urban development. Town life began in Mesopotamia about 3000 B.C. and coincided with and was made possible by a tremendous burst of creativity which within a remarkably short time produced grain cultivation, copper metallurgy, the plow, the potter's wheel, the draw loom, sailboats, abstract mathematics, exact astronomical observation, the calendar, and that most wonderful and perhaps most misused of all inventions, writing. The most primitive urban economy was organized around kingship, and Lewis Mumford has defined the city of this earliest period as a citadel containing a palace, a granary, and a temple where booty was stored.[6] Max Weber, who tends to be less judgmental than Mumford, suggests that the polis started as an organization of families controlling sacred structures which were closed to outsiders and plebeians.[7]

Cities spread outward from their place of origin, particularly toward the west into Egypt, to Crete (which gave us that major design amenity, the window), and then on to Ionia and the Greek mainland, whose classic period evolved between 900 and 600 B.C. The thin soil and deep clefts of Greece enforced isolation and made small, relatively self-contained city-states inevitable. Kingship disappeared in most places and was replaced by popular assemblies in which all landowners could vote, a system of government which worked well until cities became so big that the citizens could no longer all know one another. The greatest of these cities was, of course, Athens, which enjoyed its golden age during the second half of the fifth century B.C. The decline of Athens was followed by the Hellenistic Age, during which the Macedonians were dominant.

Then the center of energy and accomplishment shifted westward once more, this time to Rome. That remarkable city gained mastery of Italy by 270 B.C. and expanded its influence outward until it became the imperial center of the entire civilized world. Rome itself, which had started as a collection of villages on seven neighboring hills, grew until by A.D. 280 it covered five and one-third square miles and contained 926 public baths and 1,212 public fountains. Serious problems had become evident by that time. The landed gentry had grown flabby and had been replaced by crude military emperors. Nothing functioned properly, the empire having grown too large for the transportation, communications, and administrative systems. Rome became a huge parasite, as did other cities. The imperial center of gravity moved eastward, Rome being increasingly unsuited to the strategic requirements of a military government. The barbarians on the perimeter became more formidable, and finally by A.D. 500 the empire in the West had collapsed and been replaced by ill-organized Germanic kingdoms. The world economy shrank. Cities shrank. Roman civilization died. Ralph Adams Cram gives a beautiful—and terrifying—description of what happened:

It is as hard to comprehend the complete extinguishing of classical civilization in the fifth century, as it would be for us today to imagine the total obliteration of all the achievements of the last four centuries, yet the real and the suppositious cases are the same, and what has once happened may happen again. In little more than a hundred years a State coterminous with the world, proud, wealthy, invincible in the field, boasting a superficial culture, insolent in its assurance, magnificent in all its outward forms of art and pageantry, broke down, crumbled, and utterly disappeared.

From all sides, east, west, north, south, savage hordes crept over the marble villas and pleasant gardens and fertile farms of Britain, Gaul, the Rhineland, Africa, Syria, leaving only ruin and desolation. Crept on the great summer resorts with their terraced palaces and their luxurious and profligate life, the resorts that made the mountain valleys and delicate rivers and Mediterranean headlands and beaches pleasure haunts of infinite delight. One by one they vanished in flame and sack, until the forests returned, the sand washed higher, obliterating even the calcined fragments of an architecture such as the world had never seen before.

At last the wolves prowled unmolested amongst the temples and basilicas, the baths and fora and palaces of what had once been Imperial Rome, while pestilence and famine decimated all Italy, and deep woods and poisonous marshes took the place of crowded cities and broad acres of farms and gardens.

Even memory of what had been was lost.[8]

That was the beginning of what we have come in retrospect to call the Dark Ages. The Germanic barbarians who had destroyed the Roman Empire in the West were incapable of providing either political or economic stability. Mohammedans swept across the Mediterranean world during the second half of the seventh century and took possession of all of it except Italy. Western Europe became a closed, inland area without foreign markets or cultural contacts. Western civilization—and cities—almost disappeared. Surviving towns were administered by bishops, the only remaining foci of power in urban places, and the Church furnished the few primitive municipal services, such as charity and entertainment. Professional warriors took over the countryside, offering protection in return for wealth and status, and in time their local control tended to merge into networks of regional authority. The Frankish people, led by Charles the Hammer of France, turned back the Moorish invasion at Tours in 732, thereby perhaps saving Christianity. The grandson of Charles the Hammer, Charlemagne, expanded Frankish influence by conquest, declared himself Emperor of the West in 800, and tried to revive the Roman Empire. He failed, and his dream of European unity died with him, but he had solidified the landed aristocracy by appointing a count to govern each Roman civitas, or city, and their descendants became hereditary county rulers. The empire broke into fragments, but the counts recognized and gave their allegiance to the rulers of these large jurisdictions, and

thus feudalism also pointed the way toward the modern concept of nationality. All of this elaborate structure of temporal power was balanced against but in most instances was inferior to the monolithic energy of the Papacy.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries Western Europe roused itself from its long and fretful slumber and experienced an economic and cultural revival. Concurrently old Roman cities, long atrophied, began once again to flourish, and new urban centers came into being and grew in importance. The causes of this rejuvenation were various. The great westward thrust of Islam spent itself, and the Crusades, which may be seen as a counterattack against Mohammedanism, reopened the Mediterranean. Feudalism brought stability and relative peace. The Church sponsored economic regulation and encouraged economic expansion. Italy opened trade with the East. Roving merchants had begun trading over long distances in inland Europe, and by 1300 under Italian leadership commerce and culture spread northward along natural trade routes.

Scholars have long argued about why cities in general developed and in particular which factors best explain the emergence of the medieval city. Fustel de Coulanges saw cities originating because they provided a focus for worship. [9] Going to the other extreme, Frederick W. Maitland found the need for protection paramount, and around this idea he erected his famous ''garrison theory.'' [10] Most observers have favored economic interpretations. William H. McNeill found that towns grew ''where communication lines met.'' [11] A generation ago Henri Pirenne had us all convinced that the medieval rebirth of cities stemmed exclusively from the revival of long-distance trade and the clustering of merchant caravans outside town walls, but we know now that this was only part of the story. [12] Gideon Sjoberg postulates two preconditions of city life: ecology, which includes exposure to other cultures as well as satisfactory climate, soil, and water supply; and technology, that is to say, some technological advantage permitting a ruling group to concentrate population at a focal point, develop political and social organization, and hoard a food supply. [13] Lewis Mumford, that inveterate phrasemaker, claimed that cities started as ''breeding and feeding grounds'' and as places where there was ''a ceremonious concern for the dead.'' [14]

There has likewise been debate about what cities really are. According to Henry Sumner Maine a city is in essence a legal structure resting on defined territory and a contract binding the inhabitants, and he felt that the contract and not kinship and family was what mattered. [15] To William Bennett Munroe the city has always been a corporation at law with an artificial personality, which employs people, sues people, and owns things. [16] Lewis Mumford claimed that ''the embryonic structure of the city already existed in the village,'' listing the necessities as houses, a shrine, a cistern, a public way, a marketplace where citizens could socialize as well as trade, and ''the village Council of Elders.'' [17]

Max Weber concluded that ''an urban 'community,' in the full meaning of the word, appears as a general phenomenon only in the Occident.... To constitute a full urban community a settlement must display... the following features: (1) a fortification; (2) a market; (3) a court of its own and at least partially autonomous law; (4) a related form of association; and (5) at least partial autonomy.'' By association he meant the formal granting of citizenship by the municipality, the swearing of allegiance to it, and the very conscious sense of shared responsibility that was particularly characteristic of medieval towns. [18]

It has been a great deal easier to describe medieval urban life than to decide why cities burgeoned or what special qualities actually made them cities. There was congestion and vitality, and always there were the sights and sounds of Christianity. A modern description of Paris in 1137 in the magic time of Eleanor of Aquitaine mentions ''churches great and small, their facades storied with the epic of salvation wrought in shining mosaics or dim carvings..., the dwellings of burghers thrusting their nodding upper stories over streets no wider than a corridor and crooked as a maze.'' There is a reference to ''the embankment of the Seine, whence ascended by day the cries of boatmen and by night the songs of students turning in from their pothouse congregations.'' ''The corners of the streets,'' we are told, ''were angles of surprise, where a bread or a fish cart ran plump into the equipage of a baron or a bishop.... Everywhere passengers avoided milch goats and roving swine.'' [19]

Lewis Mumford, a great lover of the medieval city, has written that it may be described as ''a collective structure whose main purpose was the living of a Christian life. That purpose,'' he added, ''even colored institutions that, like war, were in flagrant contradiction to the Christian spirit, and it curbed other practices, like usury, which could only be resorted to by subterfuge, and with a bad conscience. But above all, the Christian conception of life with its affirmation of suffering and its readiness to give succor, brought into existence agencies for which there is no evidence in earlier civilizations.'' [20] There was, then, Mumford is telling us, a sense of community, compassion, and mutual responsibility. ''Whatever the practical needs of the medieval town,'' according to this same authority, ''it was above all things... a stage for the ceremonies of the Church. Therein lay its drama and its ideal consummation.'' [21]

The medieval town reached its apogee early in the fourteenth century. Populations were not large by modern standards, the giants being Venice and Milan with about 90,000, Genoa and Florence with somewhat less, and Paris with 80,000. The two most urbanized regions were northern and central Italy and the County of Flanders and some territory adjacent to it. England was still relatively rural, and the only community there with over 10,000 residents was London, which had somewhere between 30,000 and 40,000. [22] People lived in row houses, which were the locales for both domestic and occupational life, and there was little privacy. The narrow streets were filled with humanity, but cities on the Continent were not really overcrowded until late in the medieval period, and the problem did not reach England until the Industrial Revolution. Even where some

congestion could be found, nobody was ever very far from the country. If sanitary facilities were inadequate, little harm was done because the age made no attempt at cleanliness, and there was drinking water supplied from fountains and public bath houses for those who could figure out how to use them. [23]

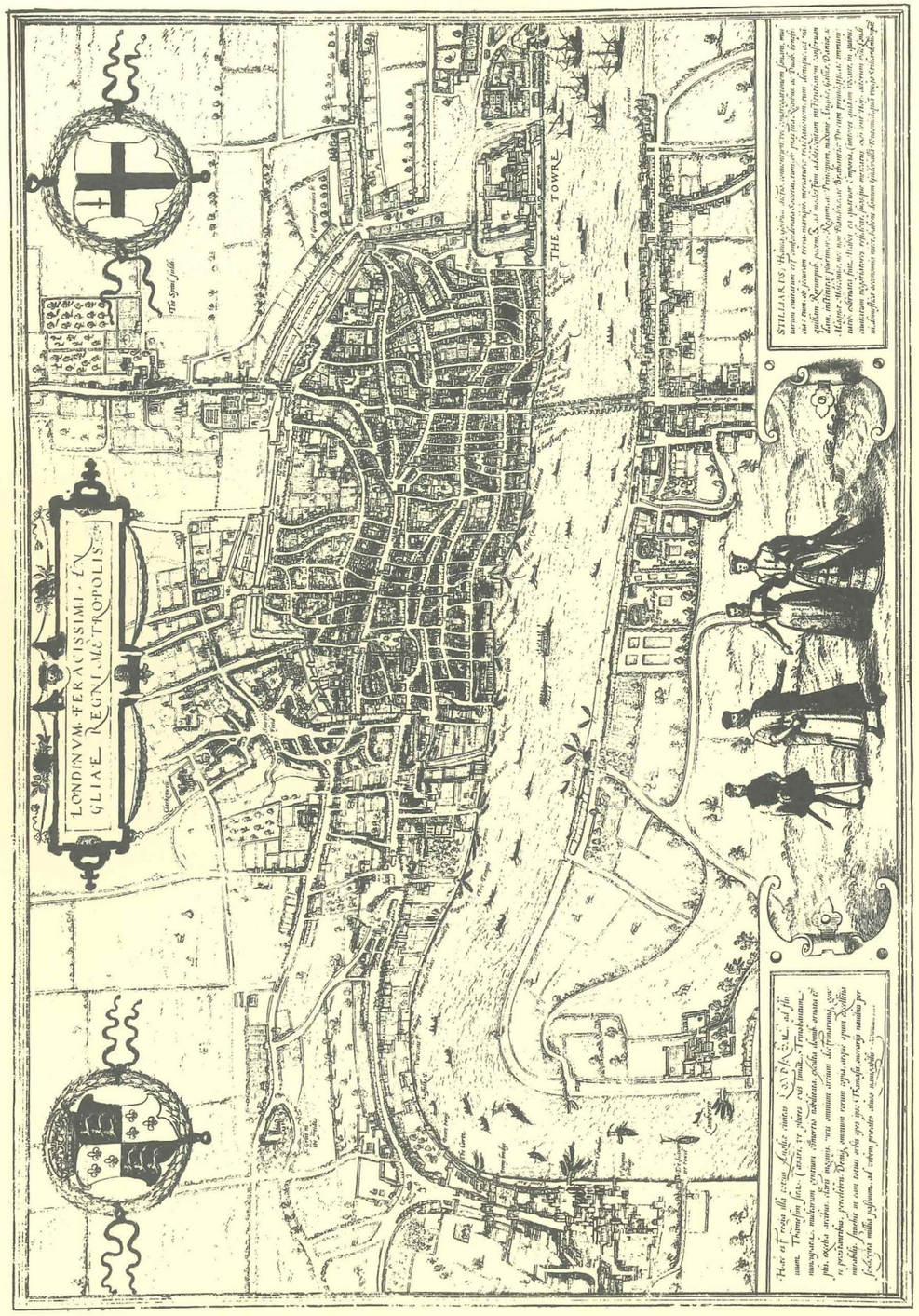
Accompanying the growth of cities in Italy was a search for municipal freedom and autonomy. Driven by a sense of common need and purpose, urbanites first expressed their solidarity in oaths of allegiance to their towns and then by 1100 obtained the right to elect their own local officials. For about two hundred years control was maintained by a combination of merchants and town-dwelling gentry, but then the less important part of the citizenry, acting through the guilds, attempted sometimes temporarily successful takeovers by force, employing troops led by ''captains of the people,'' who were in effect city managers in armor. The aristocratic response was the importation of hired war captains who used even greater force to regain the upper hand. Order was restored, but dictatorship replaced what had been a form of popular or at least republican government, and once-unified society was permanently divided along class lines. [24] The quest for civic self-government spread northward in Europe to some extent but in a diluted form and without the violence and bitterness of the Italian experience. In most places the central governments were stronger than in Italy, and they were able to hold down the ambitions of the cities. On the other hand, kings needed urban support in their battles with the nobility, and they bought it by cheerfully granting limited judicial privileges. This was particularly true in England, where the boroughs got little real power but were given representation in Parliament as early as 1295. [25]

Buildings dating from the medieval period, particularly residential structures, are mostly gone by now, but urban land-use patterns did not change much until the middle of the nineteenth century, so it is not difficult to visualize the way cities once looked. Growth resulted from accretion, and existing conditions shaped urban forms. Private structures in some neighborhoods tended to encroach on public space, reducing its size and altering its shape. In other parts of a city the forces worked in the other direction. For example, streets immediately inside a town gate made good areas for markets, and there was therefore often pressure to enlarge them, even at the expense of privately owned land. Cities were walled, and new business activities normally clustered just outside the gates. This expansion of economic enterprise generated the development of a faubourg, a suburban extension beyond the town wall and outside the gate. In time the wall would be extended to include the new suburb, and thus the community would expand to take in more territory. [26] Buildings maintained a modest scale except for cathedrals and some town halls. Design was intuitive but achieved construction closely integrated to its environment. By the fourteenth century England had become much more peaceful than Continental Europe, with the result that walls around English towns lost their protective function. While Continental

communities retained their essential verticality and continued their concentric-ring growth, English towns began to expand horizontally as their walls fell into disrepair, and this easy access to the countryside turned the English into a race of flower gardeners.

We may identify five kinds of medieval towns, each with its own sort of origin, ground plan, and pattern of development. There were, first of all, towns with Roman origins. They were usually the result of unplanned organic growth, and they were apt to retain the gridiron street layout in their older parts. Most of them had known low periods, and probably all of the English ones, even London, had been totally deserted for periods after the middle of the fifth century. The second type of medieval town, the bourg, had started as a wooden castle during or following the ninth century. Its growth had conformed to topography. Edinburgh and Dublin were British examples. A third type was villages that had grown. Birmingham, originating as a crossroads market town with no legal status, was such a place. Two others on the Continent, Amsterdam and Copenhagen, should also be mentioned, as I shall deal later with them at some length. These three kinds of medieval towns had in common the fact that they all grew naturally. Two other types were founded during the Middle Ages for specific reasons. Bastides, a French innovation that also found a role in Great Britain, were built strictly for military purposes, and they always utilized the gridiron layout. Finally there were other new towns founded in many parts of Europe, mostly for commercial reasons and enjoying more variety in design than the bastides. They were not unknown in England (Portsmouth in 1194, Liverpool in 1207, and Salisbury in 1227 are examples), but I would call particular attention now and will refer again later on to trading villages set up along the coast of the Baltic Sea by the Hanseatic League, which once monopolized commerce in that remote but economically important region. [27]

In the end medieval cities became unable to provide the ambiance and services demanded by a modernizing world, and so they may be said to have failed. Lewis Mumford saw the phenomenon as the result of the diminishing universalism of the Church. Religion gave way to commerce, he explained, and Protestantism served only private life. He has always hated private life, and thus he could understand why his wonderful medieval towns drifted into futility. [28] Another less emotional explanation can be advanced. By the middle of the fourteenth century urban populations had fragmented into an increasingly smaller but richer elite, a middle class, and a large but politically weak lower class. Rich families, eager to build ever-larger, ever-more-splendid homes, could no longer obtain sufficient land in the centers of cities, so they moved to the edges. This trend separated residential from business land use and was the beginning of the end of medieval cities. It started with the Pitti Palace across the Arno from Florence, and the cancer spread. Spiritual and physical unity were lost and along with them the sense of community.



London in the time of Queen Elizabeth I.

Inasmuch as the placement of the Pitti Palace may be seen as the event signaling the end of medieval urban design, it is perhaps not surprising that the Renaissance started in Florence. Actually, of course, the Renaissance began there as a literary movement fathered by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, who died, respectively, in 1321, 1374, and 1375. The first Renaissance plastic art was Ghiberti's bronze Baptistry doors in 1401, and the first architecture was Brunelleschi's Foundling Hospital, which was begun in 1419. From Florence, the architecture of the Renaissance spread through Italy and then worked its way over the Alps to the rest of Europe. Historians subdivide it into the Early Renaissance (1420–1500), Late Renaissance (1500–1600), Baroque (1600–1750), and Rococo or Neoclassical (1750–1900). Not until the beginning of the seventeenth century did Renaissance architecture have any impact on urban design, for Baroque was the first period to go beyond the planning of individual buildings to schemes integrating a number of structures and giving attention to the flow of traffic as well as the proper interrelations among the several edifices in the total design.

Renaissance architectural principles filtered northward out of Italy so slowly, however, that they were only in a most limited way part of the urban world as New Haven's founders knew it. Italian artists carried the Renaissance to France in 1483, and the first French buildings in the new style were erected in the Loire Valley after 1515. Thus there had been a century of Renaissance design in France when the future settlers of New Haven were growing up in England. French influence would have been very limited, however, because there is no evidence that any of them ever traveled in that country. Furthermore the first spectacular and important Renaissance design in Paris, the Place des Vosges (originally the Place Royale), was still a novelty, having been completed only in 1612. The English were sufficiently aware of the new style so that they had begun tentatively adding some novel motifs to otherwise traditional building plans, but pure Italian Renaissance architecture was not seen in Britain until Inigo Jones produced the Queen's House at Greenwich in 1616, the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall in 1619, and Covent Garden in London in 1630.[29] Thus in 1637 when the founders of New Haven departed for the New World, urban England was, with the exception of these few recent additions, still medieval in layout and appearance.

London, by far the largest of England's cities, may have been occupied sporadically as far back as the Stone Age, but it was never a major Celtic settlement, and for all practical purposes it may be dated from A.D. 43, when the legions of the emperor Claudius invaded England and established it as a base. The site was selected because it was a convenient place at which to cross the Thames River, and its ground plan has always been the end result of where the bridges were and how road systems fanned out from them.[30] The parish and ward boundaries and the street plan of the old City of London derive from before the Norman Conquest.[31] The royal capital was moved from Winchester in 1042, technically to Westminster, which was then just outside the city.[32] William the

Conqueror confirmed the existence of both London and Westminster, and by 1175 they were linked by a ribbon of development along the Strand.[33] There may have been as many as 60,000 people living in this dumbbell-shaped area by 1348, but then during the next two years the Black Death probably reduced the population by 50 percent.[34]

England's only traditional export of any great importance was raw wool, which was shipped to technologically more sophisticated Flanders, where it was woven into cloth. In the fifteenth century England's weavers improved the local product so much that quite suddenly it became possible to sell finished goods abroad instead of the less valuable raw material. There was a marked decline in the shipment of raw wool from the various ports of England, and concurrently London became the shipping point for the increasing export of woolen fabrics. This shift hurt the secondary ports, helped the national economy generally, and caused London to boom. In the years between 1485 and 1666 London handled 90 percent of Britain's overseas trade, and the city and its environs grew from an estimated 75,000 in 1500 to close to half a million at the end of that period.[35]

Like all cities in a state of rapid expansion, London suffered from many inconveniences and dangers. Food had to be imported from elsewhere in England, adding to its cost.[36] Sanitation was poor, and the whole area stank.[37] Coal shipped from northern England largely replaced wood in the early seventeenth century because the latter was becoming too expensive to be used as fuel. Londoners burned coal in their homes, and it was also used in the manufacture of glass, bricks, tiles, anchors, tobacco pipes, hats, sugar, and ale, and this widespread utilization filled the air with filthy smoke to an extent found nowhere else.[38] Plagues devastated the city in 1592, 1602, and 1603.[39] The winters were remarkably cold all through the seventeenth century, and the Thames was sometimes frozen so deeply during England's "Little Ice Age" that a horse-drawn coach could be driven on it.[40]

There were three sources of water in London, but all suffered from serious problems. Most of the wells in town were polluted, and water taken from the Thames had a very unattractive odor. Springs outside the city offered a more acceptable product, but the wooden conduits that delivered it to London were leaky and unreliable. By the middle of the sixteenth century the expanding population had overtaxed the available supply, but machinery installed in 1572 began pumping enough smelly water out of the river to solve the problem of quantity. A welcome improvement in quality took place early in the seventeenth century, when a forty-mile channel was dug to deliver water from Hertfordshire.[41]

Creation of a reliable water supply led to increased physical expansion in all directions and intensified overcrowding in the older sections. Such growth had long been regarded by the government as undesirable, and in 1580 Elizabeth I attempted to stop it completely by a proclamation forbidding further construction

in London, "where no former House hath bene knowen to have bene in the memorie of such as are now living."[42] The queen's effort was unsuccessful because the new law was not enforced vigorously, and people soon learned to ignore it.[43]

London in 1637, the year New Haven's founders left their homeland, was a very big medieval city boasting a few new Renaissance buildings. It was an impressive place, a great commercial center, and the focus of national life, but it was also overcrowded, unhealthy, cold in the winter, smoggy, and smelly. In short, it gave its residents the best and the worst of urban life. All other English cities were so much smaller that we can think of them as large towns, and they were even more medieval in appearance than was London.

City government in the time of New Haven's founders was the result of a long process of evolution. In Anglo-Saxon times English towns were administered as part of the territorial system of counties and hundreds, the few exceptions being particularly important cities such as London, Bristol, York, and the Channel Ports, which had been given special borough privileges. The Norman Conquest delivered to Britain the economic revolution which was then transforming Western European communities and their inhabitants into communes and a free middle class, and after 1066 there was a gradual but rather steady extension of borough privileges to the great majority of the country's urban centers. At the same time the military importance of English cities declined, and they consequently lost their previous dominance over the countryside and became purely economic corporations. Urban development differed from that of Italy in one important respect: citizenship in England flowed from guild or corporation membership rather than affiliation with a commune. The guilds had sprung up in the larger cities after the coming of the Normans. They were organized by prominent merchants to regulate local trade, and in most places guild members proved to be the ideal leaders in the search for self-government. This autonomy was attained when a borough was given the right to elect a town council and other officials, who took over control from the sheriff and dealt thereafter directly with the king. Early in the thirteenth century local notables, particularly the families most involved in the key wool, cloth, and wine trades, gained effective political control over English cities, in contrast to the rest of northern Europe, where relative democracy prevailed in city government.[44]

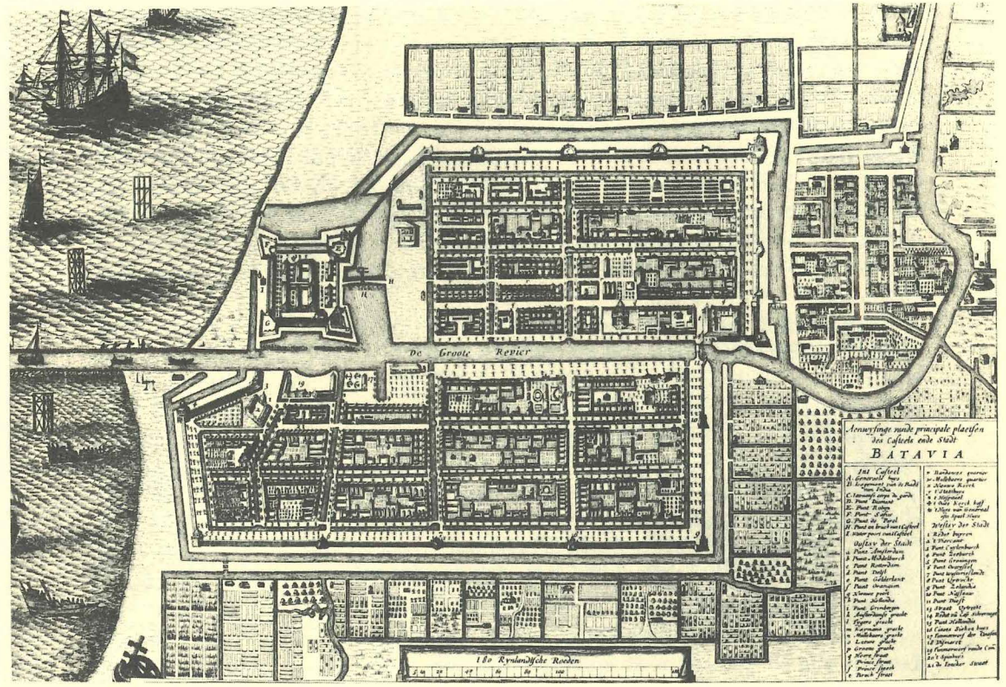
London was the first city in the land to achieve political independence, when in 1130 Henry I granted it a charter of communal liberties. Two generations later it had its own constitution and had begun electing a mayor and council of aldermen. Rule by the business elite made London a particularly closed shop and caused the concept of citizenship to become so narrow that it could be attained only by inheritance, purchase, or seven-year apprenticeship to someone who was a citizen. The inbred political leadership eventually faltered and was replaced. The newcomers to power were not, like their predecessors, all related to one another, but they did have in common the fact that they were all important

merchants, so power remained in the hands of a small number of men, and Londoners went on thinking that oligarchy was the normal form of urban government. [45]

Every early settler in New Haven had some firsthand familiarity with urban life, because England is a small country and even rural families would at one time or another have had occasion to visit cities and to learn something about what they were like. The educated men in the group, especially those with university training, Ezekiel Cheever, John Davenport, Samuel Eaton, Thomas James, and probably Peter Prudden, had learned something about cities from their reading, particularly their study of the Bible and other sacred literature. [46] In addition, seven of the original New Haveners, including the two principal ones, John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, had learned firsthand about cities in faraway places. Davenport, Samuel Eaton, and John, Joseph, and Thomas Nash had all lived for periods of time in Holland, and Nathaniel Turner had served as a soldier of fortune somewhere in the Low Countries. [47] During Theophilus Eaton's distinguished business career he had lived for several years in Copenhagen, and he had also traveled to Danzig and Elbing and probably other Baltic seaports. [48] If we are to have an adequate understanding of what our founders knew about urban life, we must look briefly at what was going on in some of the coastal cities of northern Europe.

I have dutifully described the coming of the Renaissance to France, as that is part of the story of the modernizing of Europe. During the early decades of the seventeenth century, however, the British were not, for once, paying a great deal of attention to events and trends in France but instead had their eyes focused on the Dutch Republic. That brave little nation had declared its independence from Spain in 1581 and had then fought almost continuously for a full generation, at times with military assistance from England, until its freedom was recognized. Meanwhile the Dutch had expanded their trade dramatically until they became for a time the leading force in international trade. The first half of the seventeenth century was their golden age, a period of prosperity and great productivity in literature and the arts, and the Dutch then had a considerable impact on English cultural development. [49]

The leading Dutch city, Amsterdam, which a half dozen of the earliest New Haveners knew from firsthand experience, was quite unlike any English urban center because it had started, like many other towns in Holland, as a settlement located where a river was dammed and its flow directed along alternative channels to the sea. The river was the Amstel, it was dammed in 1240, and its dikes determined the locations of the original streets. The city grew and was extended in 1367, 1380, and 1450, with new canals always excavated in advance of the need for additional building construction. By 1600 Amsterdam had replaced Antwerp as the most important port in the Low Countries. The population was well over 100,000 and was increasing rapidly, and there appeared to be danger of overtaxing



Plan of Jakarta, 1619, a fine example of Dutch urban design.

the available space and resources. The problem was solved in 1607 by the Plan of the Three Canals, a scheme for future expansion so brilliant and comprehensive that it served Amsterdam for three centuries without major modification, making the city what Mumford has called ''the commercial spirit at its best . . . , one of the greatest examples of the town planner's art.'' [50]

It was no accident that such a successful urban plan was developed for Amsterdam. The profession of urban planning began in Italy about 1545, and it was concerned originally as much with the design of fortifications as it was with the layout of towns. The Italians at first dominated the new field, but by 1600 the Dutch had become the leaders, and in the years of their national greatness they did much to rationalize and beautify their cities and towns. It was also a time of vigorous expansion overseas, and between 1619 and 1637 the Dutch founded five important colonial towns: Batavia (now Jakarta), New Amsterdam (now New York), Mauritstad (now Recife, Brazil), Willemstad (now Curaçao), and Capetown. Dutch planners saw to it that four of the five started out with very sophisticated ground plans. [51] The one exception was New Amsterdam, which had no plan at all, the reason being that its founders intended it only as a trading post and not as a settled community. Its subsequent growth was purely accidental. [52]

If Amsterdam had much to teach visitors, so too did Denmark's capital. First mentioned in 1043 as an insignificant fishing village, Copenhagen grew because it had one of the best natural harbors in northern Europe. It was acquired by the crown in 1417 and achieved a population of about 5,000 in 1500; by the time Theophilus Eaton moved there its population had increased to approximately 30,000. What was notable about this still modest-sized city was its vigorous adoption of the new design principles during the reign of Christian IV. The defensive system was converted to a Renaissance pattern between 1606 and 1624, and the harbor entrance was fortified shortly thereafter. Strandholmen Island was joined to the mainland, a new district was added, and Rosenborg Castle, the Round Tower, and the Stock Exchange were erected. [53] The skyline that Eaton saw was still dominated by Gothic spires, but Copenhagen's ground plan had been reshaped according to modern principles to an extent then unknown in England. [54]

Eaton's mercantile activities also took him to the Baltic Sea, and there he became familiar with new towns founded during the Middle Ages. Beginning in the twelfth century Germans pushed eastward, some of them acting for the Hanseatic League and others carrying the Sword and the Cross into new territory. They set up a number of new communities where urban life had been previously unknown, including Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, and Kalingrad. They had somewhat the look of older German towns, but their ground plans were simplified in a practical way, and they were therefore superior to their models. [55] Danzig (now Gdansk, Poland), one of the Baltic cities that Eaton visited, was established early

in the thirteenth century to supply the agricultural colonists who had migrated to the area from Germany and to serve as an entrepôt for trade with the North Sea. [56] Elbing (now Elblag, Poland), forty miles east of Danzig, was founded as a castle in 1237 by the Teutonic Knights, and it remained small enough in Eaton's time so that he could see it uncluttered by the sort of growth that made it hard to understand what London had looked like when it was still getting started. Eaton saw more than just ground plans and buildings along the Baltic coast. For one thing, he had a chance to observe justice administered without the use of juries, and it has been suggested that this experience probably gave him his clearly stated dislike of trial by jury. [57]

This, then, was the urban world that New Haven's founders knew. It consisted largely of overgrown late medieval English towns like Coventry and Chester and the one great city, burgeoning and exciting but dangerous and smelly London, plus some instructive exposure to certain foreign seaports. Our founders knew little about the processes by which cities grew. They had never studied urban history, and they were aware in only the dimmest way of what was going on in the cities of France, Italy, Spain, and the rest of central and southern Europe. They did not know that thatched roofs in a climate drier than England's tended to ignite. They did not understand that their late Gothic method of home construction would be inadequate during the cold New England winters, because its dense walls and thin roof leaked heat, its huge chimney removed much warmth along with the smoke from a cavernous fireplace which itself trapped heat instead of radiating it into the room. [58] They migrated intending to found a great port, but it did not seem to occur to them that in the age of sail they would have trouble competing with Boston and New Amsterdam in trade across the Atlantic if they located their city on a harbor hidden behind Long Island. Even worse, they did not realize that a great trading port has to have some cash crop or product to export. Virginia had tobacco, New Amsterdam had fur, and in its desperation Boston had discovered that people would actually pay money for codfish, but it turned out that New Haven had absolutely nothing to sell. They thought, too, that their government could be based solely on the teachings of the Old Testament. They established a theocracy here, but it did not endure.

It is easy to make fun of New Haven's founders, who knew so little and attempted so much. On the other hand, there is much to praise. They were brave; all immigrants are by definition brave. They did establish a port, and if it languished for a century, it eventually came to life and became an important city. They gave us our Nine Squares, making New Haven North America's first planned community and giving us our lovely and famous Green. [59] They gave us a good city, which has been home to thousands and thousands of families for almost three and a half centuries. They gave us an attractive place described in 1855 as ''the most beautiful city in Connecticut, and probably in America.'' [60]

Most of all, perhaps, we should honor Eaton and Davenport and their followers

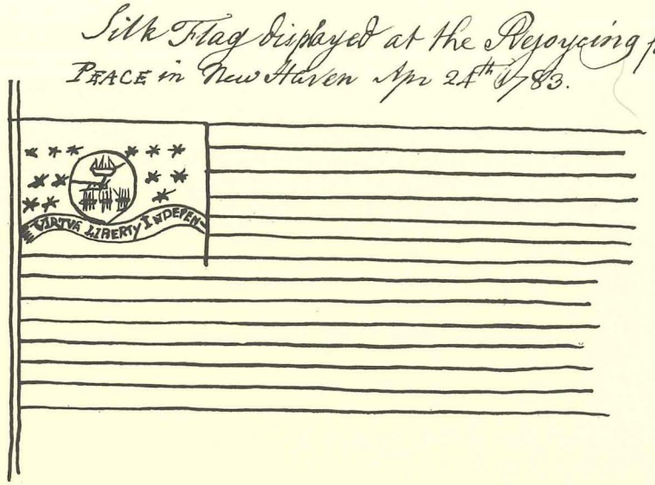
because they did attempt so much, even if they were doomed to partial failure. Vast dreams, even vast and impractical dreams, have about them a certain inherent majesty and grace. Let us leave our founders on this note and bid them farewell, even as they bade farewell in 1637 to the urban world they knew and began the great adventure of their lives, outward bound from England.

FLOYD M. SHUMWAY once taught urban history at Columbia University, and he has published one book and several articles on that subject.

REFERENCES

1. Charles Edward Banks, *The Winthrop Fleet of 1630...* (Boston, 1930), p. 51.
2. Floyd M. Shumway, ''New Haven and Its First Settlers;'' New Haven Colony Historical Society *Journal* (September 1972), p. 52.
3. Charles H. Levermore, *The Republic of New Haven: A History of Municipal Evolution* (Baltimore, 1886), p. 73; John Gorham Palfrey, *A History of New England...*, 2 vols. (New York, 1886), 1:227.
4. Floyd M. Shumway, ''Early New Haven and Its Leadership'' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1968), pp. 353–56.
5. James Truslow Adams, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. (New York, 1930), 5:86, 612; Palfrey, *A History of New England*, 1:225; Shumway, ''New Haven and Its First Settlers,'' p. 51.
6. *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York, 1961), pp. 35–39.
7. *The City* (New York, 1958), pp. 97–99.
8. *The Substance of Gothic* (Boston, 1925), pp. 18–20.
9. *The Ancient City* (New York, 1956), pp. 126–27.
10. *Township and Borough* (Cambridge, England, 1898), p. 18.
11. *The Shape of European History* (New York, 1974), p. 88.
12. *Medieval Cities* (Princeton, 1946), passim.
13. *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present* (New York, 1960), pp. 27–31.
14. *The City in History*, p. 6.
15. *Ancient Law* (London, 1894), passim.
16. *The Government of American Cities* (New York, 1926), passim.
17. *The City in History*, p. 19.
18. *The City*, pp. 80–81.
19. Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (New York, 1950), p. 15.
20. *The City in History*, p. 267.
21. Ibid., p. 277.
22. John H. Mundy, *Europe in the High Middle Ages, 1150–1309* (New York, 1973), pp. 119–20.
23. Eliel Saarinen, *The City: Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future* (Cambridge, 1943), p. 35.
24. Weber, *The City*, pp. 121–95.
25. Fritz Rörig, *The Medieval Town* (Berkeley, 1971), passim.
26. Howard Saalman, *Medieval Cities* (New York, 1968), pp. 22–27, 30–31.
27. A. E. J. Morris, *History of Urban Form: Prehistory to the Renaissance* (New York, 1974), p. 63.

28. *The City in History*, pp. 341–43.
29. Morris, *History of Urban Form*, pp. 184–85; T. W. West, *A History of Architecture in England* (New York, 1963), pp. 84–85.
30. Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, *Matrix of Man: An Illustrated History of Urban Environment* (New York, 1968), p. 221.
31. Robert Gray, *A History of London* (New York, 1979), p. 70.
32. William A. Robson and D. E. Regan, *Great Cities of the World: Their Government, Politics, and Planning*, 2 vols. (London, 1972), 2:511.
33. Morris, *History of Urban Form*, p. 182.
34. Gray, *A History of London*, p. 135.
35. Ibid., pp. 137–39, 141.
36. Ibid., p. 141.
37. Ibid., pp. 132–34.
38. Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, and Trevor I. Williams, eds., *A History of Technology*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1957), 3:76–77.
39. S. T. Bindoff, *Tudor England* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 283.
40. Gray, *A History of London*, p. 87.
41. Ibid., pp. 143–44.
42. N. G. Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London* (London, 1935), p. 69.
43. Gray, *A History of London*, p. 158.
44. Ibid., pp. 81–82; Bryce Lyon, *A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England* (New York, 1960), pp. 175–78; Weber, *The City*, pp. 133–37.
45. Gray, *A History of London*, pp. 81–82, 112–13; Lyon, *A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England*, pp. 179, 277.
46. Shumway, ''Early New Haven and Its Leadership,'' pp. 352–53.
47. Ibid., pp. 353–54.
48. Adams, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 5:612; Shumway, ''Early New Haven and Its Leadership,'' p. 353.
49. West, *A History of Architecture in England*, p. 82.
50. Morris, *History of Urban Form*, pp. 163–64; Mumford, *The City in History*, pp. 439–42.
51. Ervin Y. Galantay, *New Towns: Antiquity to the Present* (New York, 1975), pp. 29–30.
52. Floyd M. Shumway, *Seaport City: New York in 1775* (New York, 1975), pp. 16–17.
53. Morris, *A History of Urban Form*, p. 169.
54. Saalman, *Medieval Cities*, plate 5.
55. Rörig, *The Medieval Town*, p. 30.
56. Shepard B. Clough, *The Economic Development of Western Civilization* (New York, 1959), p. 82.
57. Levermore, *The Republic of New Haven*, p. 29.
58. Edwin Tunis, *Colonial Craftsmen and the Beginnings of American Industry* (Cleveland, 1965), p. 24.
59. Genealogists, local historians, and students of urban planning have long battled over the identity of the designer of the Nine Squares. The most recent analysis of the subject and also the most sensible is Elizabeth Mills Brown, ''John Brockett of New Haven: The Man and the Myth,'' New Haven Colony Historical Society *Journal* (Winter 1980), pp. 3–34.
60. Theodore Dwight, Jr., *The History of Connecticut from the First Settlement to the Present Time* (New York, 1855), p. 72.



Ezra Stiles's sketch of the 1783 flag. See text for details which he could not fit into his drawing. (From the *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles,* vol. 3, p. 69. A copy is in the main reading room at Beinecke)

The 1783 flag as recreated by needlework designer Jane Nettleton.

New Haven's 1783 Peace Flag

by John B. Kirby, Jr.

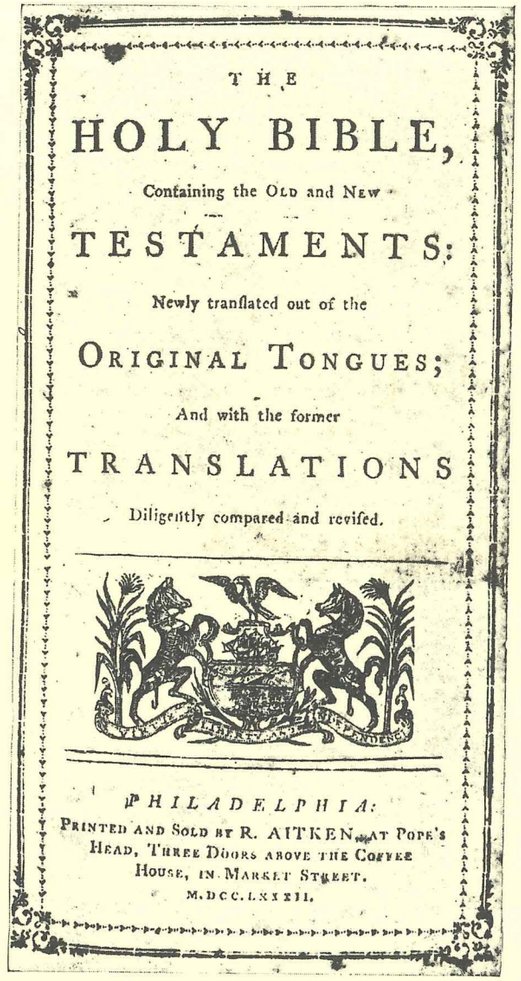
A unique flag has been recreated with the aid of a Bible, a Yale president's sketch, a letter to a newspaper, and the efforts of a historical society and a skilled needlework designer. It is necessary to set the scene before bringing all these diverse subjects together. The flag in question was flown in the second of two New Haven public peace celebrations marking the end of the Revolutionary War.

The first public peace celebration was held when news reached the town of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The *Connecticut Journal* of November 8, 1781, notes:

> There has been public rejoicing in this and the neighboring towns, on account of the signal and important victory obtained by his Excellency General Washington, over General Earl Cornwallis. In this town on Monday last, a numerous assembly convened at the Brick Meeting-House, where the audience were highly entertained with an animating, pathetic and ingenious Oration, delivered by one of the Tutors of the College, and a triumphant hymn sung by the Students; the clergy, and a number of the other gentlemen dined in the State House, in the evening, the State House, College and all the Houses round the Market Place were beautifully illuminated. The whole was conducted with the greatest regularity, good-nature, festivity and joy.

After this spontaneous celebration, it would be almost two years before the final peace treaty was signed. However, an official *Proclamation of the Cessation of Hostilities* reached New Haven on April 22, 1783. This time there had been advance notice, and a ''public rejoycing for peace'' celebration was scheduled for New Haven on April 24, 1783.

At sunrise, a thirteen-cannon salute echoed over the Green, and a special silk Continental flag, made by the ladies of New Haven, was displayed. At nine, there was an assembly at the Brick Meetinghouse on the Green at which Reverend Whittlesey read the *Proclamation of Congress.* Yale President Ezra Stiles added a forty-minute thanksgiving prayer, and Tutor Goodrich delivered an oration in


THE
HOLY BIBLE,
Containing the OLD and NEW
TESTAMENTS:
Newly translated out of the
ORIGINAL TONGUES;
And with the former
TRANSLATIONS
Diligently compared and revised.
PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY R. AITKEN, AT POPE'S
HEAD, THREE DOORS ABOVE THE COFFEE
HOUSE, IN MARKET STREET.
M,DCC,LXXXII.

Title page from the Yale copy of the Aitken Bible, which formerly belonged to Roger Sherman.

English. In the evening there were skyrockets and fireworks and a grand bonfire on the Green. At a similar "rejoycing" in Hartford, the celebrators were not as careful, and sparks ignited the statehouse, which burned to the ground.

Ezra Stiles was especially intrigued by the flag at the New Haven celebration, and in his *Literary Diary* he made a sketch of it. He was unable to fit in all the details on the sketch, but described it as follows:

> being a grand silk flag presented by the Ladies cost L 120 Dollars, the stripes red & white, with an azure field in the upper part charged with 13 stars: on the same field & among the Stars was the Arms of the united States, the field of which contained a Ship, a Plough, and 3 Sheaves of wheat; the Crest an Eagle volant, the supporters 2 white Horses. The arms were put on with paint & gilding. It took yards. When displayed it appeared well.

Tradition has it that Mrs. Roger Sherman and the widow of General David Wooster were in charge of making the flag. Roger Sherman's life is well known; General David Wooster died while commanding New Haven troops that were defending Danbury against a British raid in 1777.

Unfortunately, the ladies were unaware of the design for the national flag which had been adopted on June 20, 1782. They copied the arms for the flag from a picture in a Bible owned by Roger Sherman. The arms were those of Pennsylvania, not those of the United States.

In 1975, Roger Sherman's Bible was given to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library by Charles H. W. Foster, Hugh K. Foster, and Rockwood H. Foster. The coat of arms used for the flag is illustrated on the title page of the Old Testament. This Bible is significant for several reasons. It was printed in Philadelphia in 1782 by Robert Aitken and is considered to be the first English language Bible printed in America. Previous to this the Crown had the exclusive right to print the Bible or authorize its printing. Suggestions that an earlier American Bible had been illegally printed in Boston have long intrigued bibliographers, but the evidence is not convincing.

The 1782 Aitken Bible is the only one that has been authorized by Congress. This accounts for the fact that the arms were thought to be those of the country.

The Yale copy of the Aitken Bible is signed "Roger Sherman, 1783." It is a small duodecimo printed in brevier type; a page measures 6 inches long by 3 1/2 inches wide. It bears the bookplate of the Hoar family. Samuel Hoar married Roger Sherman's daughter, Sarah.

This Bible might have been purchased by Roger Sherman in Philadelphia in the fall of 1782 when he attended the Continental Congress. However, he signed it "1783," which probably indicates that it was purchased later. An advertisement for the Aitken Bible appeared in the *Connecticut Journal* of December 5, 1782, stating that it could be purchased at the New Haven shop of Abel Morse.

On July 3, 1983 (more than two centuries later), a letter appeared in the *New Haven Register* with an appeal to have the 1783 ''rejoycing for peace'' flag recreated. Jane Nettleton, a Clinton artist specializing in needlework design, quickly responded and told the New Haven Colony Historical Society that she was willing to take on the task. Her beautiful appliquéd and embroidered flag was unveiled at the Historical Society at a Symposium on the Treaty of Paris held jointly by the Society and Yale University last September.

This 1783 flag, with its association with Ezra Stiles and Roger Sherman, is a unique reminder of the history of New Haven, Yale, and our emerging country. The flag is presently displayed at the New Haven Colony Historical Society on Whitney Avenue.

After the Treaty of Paris was signed on September 3, 1783, New Haven renewed its efforts to become a city, and in January 1784 the efforts were rewarded. The first mayor of the new city of New Haven was Roger Sherman. Hard cider and corn bread were served at his February inauguration, and it is probable that a proper United States flag was flying nearby.

JOHN B. KIRBY, JR., is a writer and architectural historian with a keen interest in all aspects of New Haven history.

Colonial Vessels

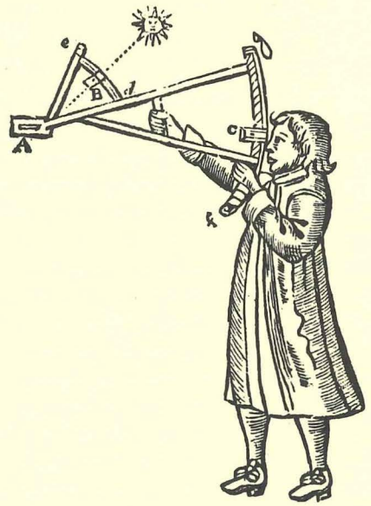
by Virginia M. Galpin

It was probably two merchantmen, the *Hector* and an unnamed vessel, which brought the Reverend John Davenport and the merchant Theophilus Eaton and their Puritan followers to Boston in 1637, and I like to think that a shallop was used by the little group that wintered here in 1638. Maybe other vessels were used to bring the five hundred settlers, again from Boston, to Quinnipiac that spring—vessels such as sloops, pinnaces, barks, and ketches. No one wrote down their shape and dimensions, but research both here and abroad, including vessel plans and pictures, has given us some clues.

Many vessels in the early seventeenth century were tublike in appearance: their breadth was about half their keel length and their depth about half their breadth. They had a relatively low ''waist'' in the middle and ''castles'' on either end, a ''poop'' in the stern and a ''forecastle'' in the bow. Superstructures these were, although sailors already knew that in a gale the superstructures could be ripped off and washed overboard. This configuration was due to earlier war tactics ashore. Merchantmen were similar to warships of the period, except they had fewer armaments. Almost all ships were armed with cannon, sometimes mortars, muskets, and blunderbusses, and when crews boarded enemy vessels, they fought with cutlasses. The enemy included pirates and privateers, privately owned vessels with ''letters of marque'' which licensed them to prey on hostile vessels in wartime.

Sloops, we know, were used to carry immigrants across the ocean. One proof is the *Sparrow Hawk,* which was wrecked in 1626 near Plymouth, Massachusetts, was found buried in sand and is now preserved (her keel and ribs only) at the Pilgrim Society in Plymouth. She is 40 feet overall, 12 feet 10 inches in breadth, 9 feet 7½ in depth. Her keel is 28 feet and ''the rake of her stern post four inches to a foot. 'Her forward lines are convex, her after lines sharp and concave, and her midship section is almost the arc of a circle.' She had a square stern and a single mast located about midship, for there is a hole in the keelson showing where it was stepped. The rig probably was a lateen yard with a triangular sail. Her planking was English oak, two inches thick and most of it ten inches wide.'' [1]

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
MARINER USING A
CROSS-STAFF
From Seller's "Practical
Navigation," London, 1676.



SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
MARINER USING DAVIS'
QUADRANT
From Seller's "Practical
Navigation," London, 1676.

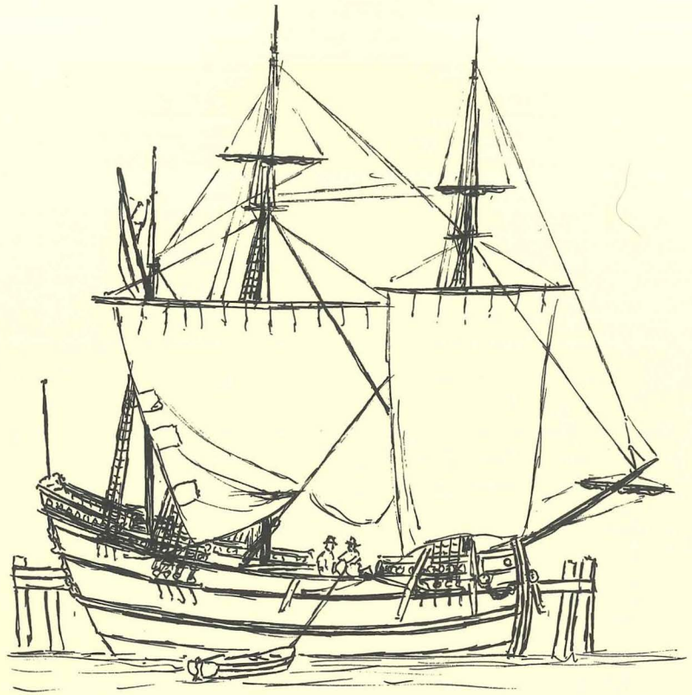
Sloops always have one mast and fore-and-aft sails. In the seventeenth century, some had a square topsail; they also had a stern cabin that resembled a poop and a long bowsprit ''pitched high in the air.''[2] Toward the end of the century they had become the great traders of the world.

A fore-and-aft rig is always set up along the length of, and not athwart, a vessel. The lateen yard, mentioned above, was a pole hung from the mast diagonally with the triangular sail underneath. It was an awkward rig and could be used only on a small mast, but it was very popular in the Mediterranean. By the end of the seventeenth century, the lateen rig on sloops was replaced by a gaff rig. The mainsail was a trapezoidal sail with one side against the perpendicular mast, the bottom side against a spar called a boom, and the top attached to a small spar, the gaff. Sloops also carried jibs, triangular sails hung from the stays that supported the mast foreward. A sprit sail was popular too. This was also a trapezoidal sail with one side against the mast, but the after top was supported by a spar, or sprit, that crossed the sail diagonally. In a blow, the sprit could be taken down, and the whole top would flutter in the breeze. This rig was used by small craft only. Another sail used in a fore-and-aft rig was a staysail, a triangular sail hung between masts; staysails were used even on square-riggers.

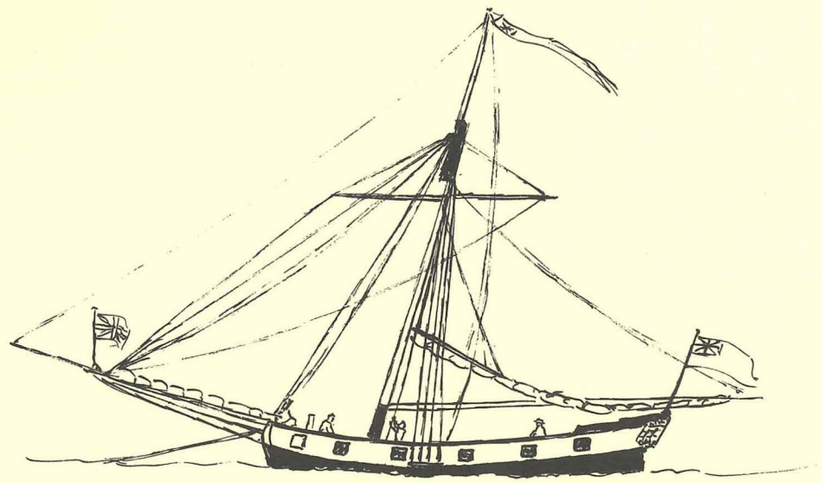
A merchantman had a high, square stern and a not-quite-as-high rounded bow with a ''beakhead''—a ramlike structure used for boarding enemy vessels; the beakhead also protected the forecastle. In the poop was the great cabin and just forward the helmsman's quarters, the steerage. The merchantman had the ship's rig of the period: a mainmast and foremast with square sails, a mizzen (a shorter, aft mast) with a lateen, and another square sail under the bowsprit.

The *Mayflower,* which brought the Pilgrims to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, was a typical merchantman of the period. A reproduction of her was built in 1956–57. She was 83 feet overall, her keel length 58 feet, her breadth 25 feet, and her depth 12 1/2 feet. Her tonnage was 181. The tonnage was computed differently from place to place, but it usually told the number of ''tuns'' (casks or barrels) that could be stored in the vessel's hold. The original *Mayflower* had four decks with only 4 feet, or maybe as much as 4 feet 7 inches, between. The main deck was open to the elements in the waist, but there was another deck underneath, and a couple more decks in the poop. She carried 102 passengers, 25 to 30 in her crew, a knocked-down shallop, food, water, and all the extras a well-found ship had to carry for repairs in the case of gales and rough seas. In addition, there were personal belongings and maybe livestock and fowl—a crowded ship!

The *Mayflower II*'s shallop, when assembled, was 33 feet 3 inches long, 9 feet 2 inches wide, and 3 feet 3 inches deep. The original shallop carried eighteen men, food and water, and probably blankets if she went exploring or fishing. The reproduction was an open, double-ended boat with oars for rowing, one sprit sail, and leeboards. Leeboards may or may not be typical of the period, but the original *Mayflower* sailed from the Netherlands, where leeboards are still in use



Small Merchant Ship* drying sail, about 1655
Probably between 60 to 70 feet on deck.



Armed Sloop* at anchor, 1729
About 50 feet on deck.

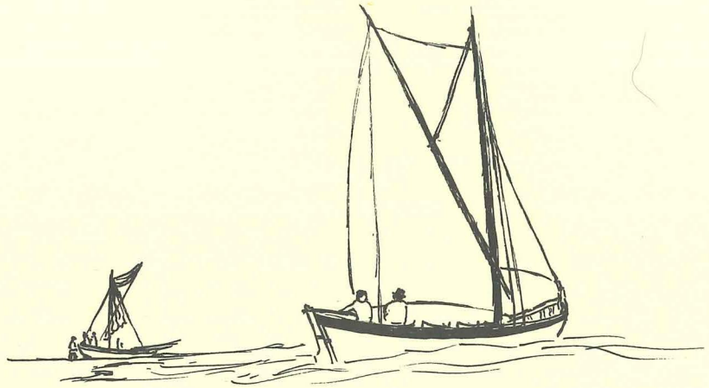
today. They can be let down or hoisted up to keep the vessel more or less upright and to keep her from making too much leeway. Shallops were too big to be carried on deck, so they were knocked down, but many of them had two masts and two sails, sometimes a square stern and a half-deck. Maybe the group that wintered here in 1638 had a shallop, but I hope it never capsized! Some shallops apparently did.

Pinnaces might have been used to transport the five hundred, but this category of vessel is hard to define, as pinnaces ''ranged from small open pulling boats, some of which were transported in knocked-down form in the same manner as shallops, to relatively large sea-going vessels that carried the normal ship rig.''[3] Pinnaces appear to be lighter in construction and narrower than most boats their size, and they usually sailed faster—sometimes faster than the bigger ship they usually accompanied. They did some fishing and some coast-wise trading, even going to Bermuda and the West Indies. Their overall length might have been 9 feet to as much as 90 feet, but a half of 90 would probably be more typical.

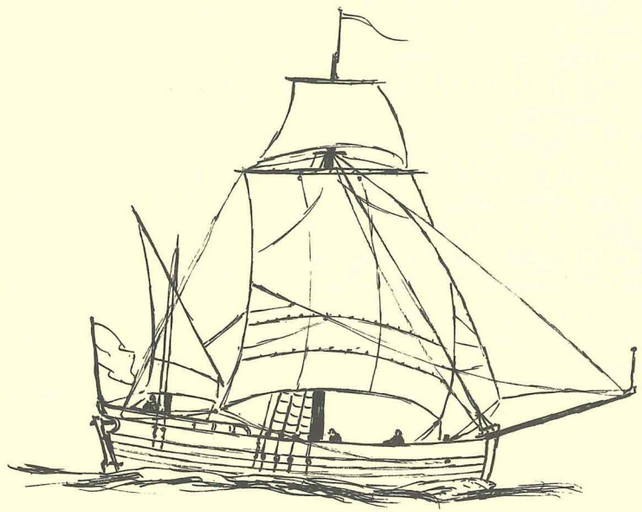
A typical bark of the seventeenth century was probably between 30 and 40 feet long, 8 or 9 feet in breadth, and 4 to 4½ feet in depth. She usually had two masts, a large square mainsail on the mainmast, and a smaller square sail on the foremast. The bigger barks had square topsails. They were used for some fishing and some coast-wise trading too, but again the word *bark* was used rather indiscriminately. Later, barks were still small, but in addition to the square-rigged mainmast and the square-rigged foremast, they had a mizzen with a fore-and-aft sail.

Another beamy, ''round''[4] vessel was the ketch (or ''catch''). She had no foremast, but she had a mainmast in the middle and a shorter mast aft. Ketches were smaller than barks, sometimes only 26 feet overall, but they were strongly built and flush decked. They were the fishermen of the seventeenth century, hailing mostly from the Massachusetts Bay Colony (which included Maine) and fishing on the Grand Banks. They might have brought people to New Haven in 1638, but it seems unlikely that they came here later. Fishing here was mostly local, and the Indians introduced the colonists to oysters, which became their main seafood. Ketches either were square-rigged, which took a crew of eight, or fore-and-aft rigged, which took a crew of only four.

The ketches disappear from the records about 1720 and are replaced by the schooners. These were fore-and-aft rigged with two masts, the mainmast being taller than the foremast. The largest schooner was probably not more than 75 feet, but many schooners were much smaller. They plied our coast and went on to the West Indies in bigger and bigger numbers through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when more masts were added. Two or three men could sail a coastal schooner—the captain (or skipper), who might also own her, and his sons, relatives or friends. They were never far from shore, and if bad weather loomed, they would make for shelter and sometimes stay there until fair weather, or fair winds, came again. In the winter, gales and ice particularly were to be



Shallop,* between 1630 and 1650
About 30 feet overall.



Ketch,* about 1660
About 50 feet on deck.

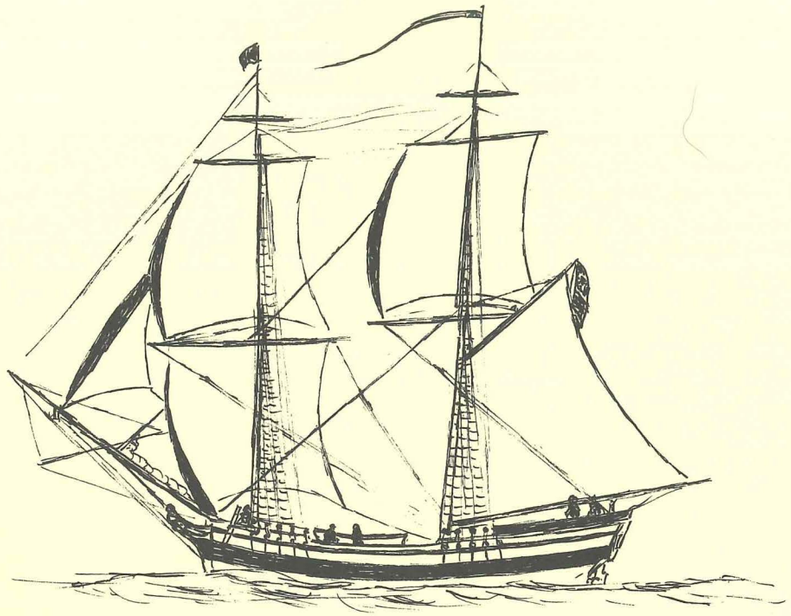
feared, as a vessel covered with ice is unmanageable; but in any season squalls can come quickly, fog can envelop, and wind and current can force a vessel off course. The danger of going aground, being badly damaged or sunk always threatened all vessels, and it does still.

There were other colonial vessels, among them the brig and the brigantine. These were small vessels too, so small that when looking for trade, they could explore any creek, river, or bay and still put out to sea. A brig had two masts with square sails from her deck to the top of her masts; in addition, she had a small fore-and-aft mainsail. A brigantine was similar, except she lacked the two bottom square sails on her mainmast but had a big fore-and-aft mainsail instead—which gave her a real push to windward. But it was the brig that was the ''plough boy of the deep,''[5] and she joined the sloop and the schooner in the coastal and West Indies trade of New Haven.

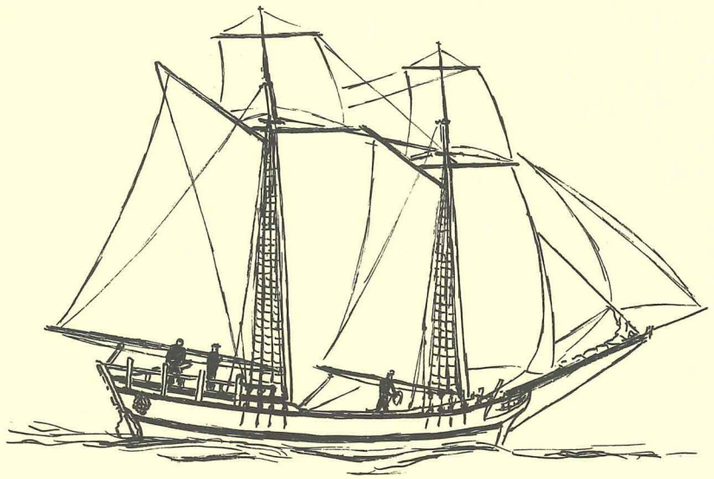
All colonial vessels were small. They were built on creeks and rivers, where there was no room to launch a big ship. Their cargoes were small, too, and men did not have the capital to build more than one vessel at a time. New Haven harbor is shallow, and during the seventeenth century, it had only a narrow, winding channel to its upper end four miles away, where the Mill and the Quinnipiac rivers emptied. Only there could ships find protection from wind and wave; not even in the eighteenth century, when Long Wharf was extended into the harbor and the channel dug deeper, was there sufficient water to accommodate the deeper draft of large vessels. New Haven was a small boat harbor; people in the seventeenth century traded around the Sound and to New Amsterdam and Boston. Contact with England was only through these two ports. Later vessels sailed north to Newfoundland and south to the Delaware River, Chesapeake Bay, Virginia and, the West Indies.

New Haven did have small craft: dugout canoes for ''tonging'' oysters and carrying cargo, skiffs and ''long boats'' (boats carried on the decks of bigger boats)—some with sails, all with oars. Because there were no highways on land, only Indian trails and later wagon roads, boats provided most of the transportation. Probably anything that could float was fabricated in the beginning.

England built the bigger vessels, but her civil war of 1641 made shipbuilding in the colonies important. The colonists demanded shipwrights even before the end of their first year of settlement, and they got them. They were excused from military and civilian duty almost from the beginning. Our ships were not very well built at this time. Good tools were scarce, wood though abundant was unfamiliar, and the colonists wanted vessels as quickly as possible. But master shipwrights with good tools and knowledge of the latest shipbuilding developments in Europe finally came here. Timber for masts was England's first shortage, so she went to the Baltic and across the Atlantic to increase her supply. Soon she discovered that the colonists could build whole vessels cheaper than she could; our first seagoing vessels may have been built on her orders.



Schooner,* 1768
50 feet on deck



Brig,* 1787
About 72 feet on deck.

The superstructures of the early seventeenth century were modified. ''Castles'' were no longer to be seen, but except for the open boats and boats with flush decks, a quarter deck spreading aft from the mainmast and a small structure, still named the forecastle, in the bow were still in evidence. The hulls were no longer tub-shaped. The width became narrower in relation to the length, the freeboard (above the waterline) less high, the keel deeper, and the underwater hull more fishlike—that is, still bluff in the bow but tapered toward the stern. By the eighteenth century people both here and abroad were thinking about what shape makes a vessel go faster.

Speed particularly was important to the colonists—not only to satisfy their sporting instincts, but also to escape the pirates who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries frequented the coast from Nova Scotia south to the West Indies, where many had their lairs. One Edward Teach, ''known as 'Blackbeard,' became a pirate in 1716, operating off the New England coast. In 1717 he took a French West Indiaman which he renamed *Queen Anne's Revenge* and in which he went cruising, after mounting her with forty guns. Beating off a British warship of twenty guns, Teach continued pirate operations off the Virginia coast.''[6] He was captured and killed the following year. Unscrupulous pirates, many banded together for years, did make fortunes. If a vessel tried to fight and lost, pirates would board and ransack her after looking for specie (coin or money), then kill the crew and either scuttle the ship or, if she was fast, add her to their own fleet. Their guiding principle was ''Dead men tell no tales.'' Flight was usually the better part of valor, so most vessels carried sweeps, as did the pirates' vessels. With deeper keels, the sail area could be increased too, and this also made the ships go faster. Yankees added ''bonnets'' (extra canvas attached to the bottom of square sails) and staysails and apparently any size and shape of canvas that could be made useful. Yankees were innovative and ingenious.

Coasting vessels probably got along with just a compass, a sounding lead, and a log. The compass was a thin bar of iron attached by sealing wax underneath a card that gave directions—the whole was placed in a wooden bowl, where it swung on gimbals to keep the card level. A sounding lead was used for depth. It was either a weight of six pounds on a 20-fathom line (a fathom is six feet, 20 fathoms equals 120 feet) or, for deep-sea sailing, a weight of 80 pounds on a much longer line. In the base of the weight was a piece of tallow to pick up the bottom's sediments; this was important especially in fog if a vessel was entering a harbor or finding her way over shoals. The log, used for determining a vessel's speed, was in the beginning just a floating object flung forward over the bow; the observer at the stern used a sandglass to note the time that the object took to pass him. Later the float was attached to a line on a reel and dropped off the stern. The time it took for each ''knot'' to go through was recorded. Knots gave the sea-mile (6,080 feet; a statute mile is 5,280 feet) and fractions thereof.

Any vessel that went to sea—to Europe or to the West Indies—had to have an

instrument for checking her latitude. An astrolabe, a cross-staff (sometimes called a fore-staff), or a quadrant (later also a sextant) were used—always at noon if the sun shone. These all gave the altitude of the sun, which was subtracted from 90 degrees, and then that answer, plus or minus the declination of the sun (a passage through the heavens either north or south of the equator computed for each day of the year) gave the latitude. Some vessels carried a nocturnal, which used the North Star instead of the sun. On a plunging ship accuracy was impossible.

Checking longitude was also next to impossible. It could be done by measuring distances from the moon to other heavenly bodies, the stars, and the planets, but it was a difficult process and one fraught with error. (The chronometer was not yet invented. Later, of course, this invention enabled navigators to establish their longitude by measuring the difference between Greenwich Mean Time and their ship's time.)

Charts existed, but they were almost useless. Mariners used their eyes and ears and wrote down their own or followed another man's sailing directions. And, of course, mariners also had telescopes, or spyglasses. One, in the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, is four feet long! It is surprising that vessels found their destination. The *Sparrow Hawk,* for example, mentioned above, sunk near Plymouth, Massachusetts, but the immigrants she carried were headed for Virginia.

Life at sea was full of the unexpected—gales, calms, unknown currents, fog, and ice. Great physical effort was expended by sailors in windy, wet, and cold weather or in hot and dry weather. Sometimes they worked long hours with no sleep. But monotony and boredom also claimed their share of a sailor's life. Conditions on shipboard on a seagoing vessel were hard: cramped quarters, lack of ventilation, hygiene almost unknown, seasickness, ''ship fever'' (typhus) and scurvy, broken bones, inadequate supplies of food and drink if the journey was long (sometimes rotted food invaded by weevils and parasites, water flavored by the wood of the barrels in which it was stored, flat beer, or watered wine), mosquitoes, flies, and quite often roaches and bedbugs—and rats. Almost nothing was written about these conditions by the early settlers that came across the ocean to settle here.

A Swedish warship, the *Wasa* (or *Vasa*), that capsized in a squall and was sunk in 110 feet of water in Stockholm just before beginning her maiden voyage in 1628 (she was raised in 1961), has given us more information. (Merchantmen, as noted above, are similar to warships.) Basic provisions for both passengers and crew were very much the same as those used in the early nineteenth century: flour and grain for bread, dried and salted beef and pork, dried and salted fish, and butter; the *Wasa* also carried fishing gear to catch fresh fish. People ate out of earthenware bowls and wooden dishes except the officers, whose utensils were of pewter. The cooking was done in a great ironware cauldron over a brick fireplace

just atop the ballast. The fireplace was later moved to a deck just under the forecastle. Another fireplace, a wooden case covered with tiles, was found in another wreck, dated about 1620, from the Zeider Zee (now the IJsselmeer) in the Netherlands. Perhaps the *Mayflower* had one like that. Of course, there were no stoves nor refrigeration.

Clothing found on the *Wasa* was the same for passengers and crew: a linen shirt, ''plain woven woolen trousers,'' linen stockings, and buckled shoes. Over the linen shirt ''was worn a skirted jacket with short sleeves.''[7] Surely both passengers and crew must have had tight-woven woolen jackets to give protection from wind and cold, knitted sweaters, socks, gloves, caps, and maybe leather boots. Buckled shoes could not have been worn aloft; probably the sailors were barefooted most of the time. No one had foul weather gear such as the oilcloth slickers used in the nineteenth century, but heavy wool right off the sheep's back does give protection from rain and snow. The sailors must also have had blankets—perhaps each sailor had his own—and that sailor wrapped up in a hammock might have been warm enough in the crowded conditions below deck.

Other European sailors—particularly those in the British and French navies and maybe also in the Dutch and Spanish navies, many of whose recruits had been drafted by press gangs who forcibly put them on vessels—were dressed in rags and tatters and were paid little if anything.

On this side of the Atlantic the situation was different. The colonists had no navy; most of their vessels were small; all men could read; and most of them had been brought up in a Puritan atmosphere. Bibles were read, and the Sabbath was quite often, if the weather allowed, a day of rest. Moreover, in addition to his pay, a sailor usually had a share in his vessel's profits. For food, he ate the basic provisions both at sea and along the coast, but fresh fruit and vegetables were added and livestock and fowl were carried. Some vessels had relatively good and abundant food, but some captains were miserly. Probably no sailor had a sea chest but instead a ''sea bag,'' or duffle, and he probably slept in a hammock on a vessel that had many men in the crew or in a berth on a fore-and-aft rigged vessel. Living conditions on American ships were better than on European ones.

What was it that made colonial boys, and particularly New Haven boys, go to sea? It usually was a career choice. Only a boy from a well-off family could think of becoming a scholar or a minister, but other boys had three choices: to be a farmer, to apprentice to some craft, or go to sea. A restless, ambitious boy who longed for adventure might choose the sea—a career that allowed him to escape from civilian chores and sometimes from family problems, but also a career filled with the unexpected and sometimes the dangerous. A boy could rely on his own strength, skill, and instinct: he could develop his leadership qualities and sometimes he could gain a fortune. But maybe the sailor alone knows the freedom of being at sea, a spiritual freedom that fosters philosophical and religious thought and an appreciation of the natural world; the sea does get into one's blood and it may become the mistress of one's life.

VIRGINIA GALPIN is a docent and wrote this article for the other docents.

REFERENCES

1. Robinson and Dow, pp. 9, 10.
2. Ibid., p. 16.
3. Baker, p. 75.
4. Ibid., p. 1. ''Round'' for cargo-carrying vessels as opposed to ''long'' vessels built for war and for speed.
5. Davis, number 23.
6. Bathe, pp. 50, 51.
7. Ibid., p. 34.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baker, William A. *The Mayflower and Other Colonial Vessels.* Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1983.

Bathe, B. W., Rubin de Cervin, G. R., Taillemite, E., et al. *The Age of Sail,* edited by Joseph Jobé. Edita Lausanne, 1967.

Bathe, Basil W. *Seven Centuries of Sea Travel from the Crusaders to the Cruises.* New York: Leon Arniel, 1973.

Chapelle, Howard I. *American Small Sailing Craft.* New York: Norton, 1951.

———. *The History of American Sailing Ships.* New York, Norton, 1935.

———. *The Search for Speed Under Sail, 1700–1855.* New York: Bonanza Books, 1967.

Davis, Charles G. *Shipping and Craft in Silhouette.* Salem, Mass.: Marine Research Society, 1929.

Morris, Paul C. *American Sailing Coasters of the North Atlantic.* Chardon, Ohio: Block and Osborn, 1973.

Reindeers, R. *Shipwrecks of the Zuiderzee,* nr. 197. A publication in 1983 of the Museum voor Scheepsarcheologie, Ketelhaven, the Netherlands.

Robinson, John, and Dow, George Francis. *The Sailing Ships of New England, 1607–1907.* Salem, Mass.: Marine Research Society, 1922.

Shumway, Floyd. ''The English Period: 1664–1775,'' in *Half Moon to Concorde,* Curriculum Resource Guide in the Maritime History of New York Harbor.

*The drawings were done by my husband, Samuel A. Galpin. His sources are listed below.

Small Dutch merchant ship—from a sketch by Willem Van de Velde the Elder (?). *The Art of the Van de Veldes* (London: National Marine Museum, 1982).

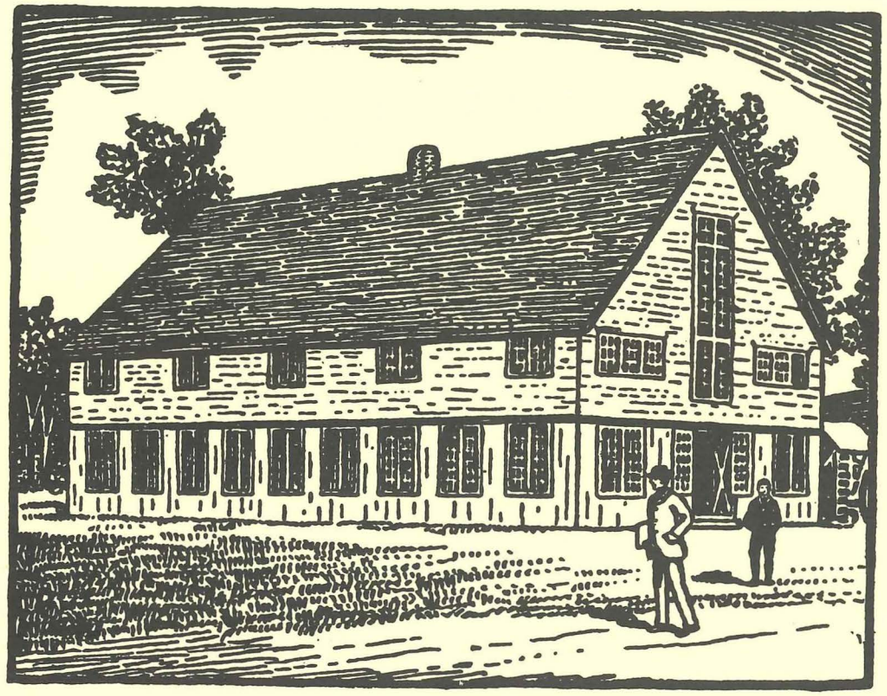
Armed sloop—from a drawing of William Burgis of Boston, showing the sloop at anchor before Boston Lighthouse. The only known print is in the possession of the U.S. Lighthouse Service, now under the U.S. Coast Guard. Robinson and Dow, *Sailing Ships of New England* (Publication Number One of the Marine Research Library, Salem, Mass., Topsfield, Mass.: Perkins Press, 1922). This book was reprinted by J. William Eckenrode (Westminster, Maryland: Court Place, 1953).

Shallop—from a drawing by William A. Baker, designer of the shallop built for Plimouth Plantation in 1957, and from paintings and drawings from the period of Willem Van de Velde. Baker, William A., *The Mayflower and Other Colonial Vessels* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1983). *The Art of the Van de Veldes* (London: National Marine Museum, 1982).

Ketch—the *Adventure* was designed and built in 1970 for the South Carolina Tricentennial. She is on exhibit in Charleston. Her hull is 53 feet long, 14 feet wide, 8 feet deep, her tonnage 43 (by the measurement of tonnage used in the seventeenth century). Baker, *The Mayflower and Other Colonial Vessels.*

Schooner—the *Sultana* was purchased for the Royal Navy in 1768. She was 50 feet long on deck, 16 feet wide, 50 tons. The drawing is after the plan drawn for the Admiralty at the time of purchase. She was a typical small cargo vessel of the period. Howard I. Chappelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships.* (N.Y.: Norton, 1935).

Brig—*Katy* of Boston was drawn from a watercolor by an unknown French artist of about 1787. The watercolor is owned by the Bostonian Society. John F. Millar, *American Ships of the Colonial and Revolutionary Periods* (N.Y.: Norton, 1978).



Village shop: Letterhead design for the Village Shop at Montague printed there by Rollins, probably in 1907.

Carl Purington Rollins at Yale:
His Work and Library

by R. Gay Walker

"The possession of a taste for wine has been a distinguishing characteristic of high civilization, just as the swilling of beer and indulgence in distilled liquors has accompanied a bestial or an uncouth state of society. Today, the drinking of wine is all but a criminal offense, while the use of distilled liquors of unknown composition has, all unwittingly, been encouraged." These rousing words in support of wine were written by Seldon Rose, author of *Wine Making for the Amateur* and member of the Bacchus Club, a fraternity he founded along with Carl Purington Rollins and others in New Haven during Prohibition in the year 1930. *Wine Making for the Amateur* was set up and printed by Carl Rollins at his own private press, At the Sign of the Chorobates. In fact, the major purpose of the Bacchus Club seems to have been the publication of this book and the attendance at a goodly number of meetings to partake of the vintner's product. The two circulars produced by the club announced the book's publication as the "president's report," and the club was limited to 515 persons at a life membership fee of $15. The edition was, of course, 515 copies printed on "mellow" paper and bound in wine-colored paste papers.

Carl Purington Rollins was a printer, graphic designer, scholar, author, teacher, humorist, and obviously a distinguished example of high civilization. He was a well-respected designer and printer, and he gathered a wide circle of friends through his engaging discussions of good printing and man's relation to machines as well as by his wit and intelligence.

Rollins worked at Yale for thirty years, participated in academic life, and helped kindle that passion for printing that is again growing in this automated age. There now exists a very lively graphic arts and printing scene at Yale, much of it inspired by the example and enthusiasm of Carl P. Rollins and other like-minded people in the 1920s and 30s.

Carl P. Rollins was born in West Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1880, that year

so important to American typography in which T. M. Cleland and W. A. Dwiggins were also born. This date was ten years after the birth of Bruce Rogers, fifteen after that of Frederic Goudy, and twenty after that of D. B. Updike. These extraordinary men were all drawn to the printed word and its appearance on the page. They all knew each other and they, with a few others, created a new environment for printing, the design of the page, and the visual effects of type. Joseph Blumenthal called it ''The Renaissance in American Printing,'' a new trend influenced by the great revolution in the printing world brought about by William Morris and the English Arts and Crafts Movement. Rollins also admitted a fascination for Morris's work, but the American movement was able to assimilate the principles of Morris's teaching and move away from his rather heavy Gothic design style fairly quickly. In his own right, Rollins was responsible for influencing the design of university press printing more than any other man, and he reintroduced several historic typefaces that gave elegance and a solid readability to scholarly texts.

The young Carl was an early printing enthusiast. At twelve, he had a Golding 'Official' tabletop press in the attic on which he printed *The Stamp Journal* every month for two years. He watched the printing of the local newspaper and was later associated with his high school paper as business manager. In 1897, Rollins went to Harvard for three years as a special student. In 1900 he left to work for a small country newspaper, the *Georgetown Advocate*, where he wrote most of the editorials but preferred setting up type and studying the type specimen books in the office. Rollins soon applied for a position with Updike at the prestigious Merrymount Press in Boston. He and his work were well received, but Rollins declined the offer of a job which stipulated that he would never start a printing office of his own. Rollins used to say that his long friendship with Daniel Berkeley Updike began then. Instead, he went to work for Carl Heintzemann, the second best press in Boston and one that emphasized high levels of workmanship and attention to detail. Rollins formed lasting friendships at that time with such men as Bruce Rogers, W. A. Dwiggins, Henry Kent, and George Parker Winship, but he did not enjoy city living. In fact, he believed that the best way to improve a city was ''to raze it.''

Rollins was drawn to the rural Utopian community of New Clairvaux in Montague, Massachusetts, in 1903. Called a ''college settlement in the country,'' it had been established a few years earlier by Edward Pressey, a Harvard graduate and Unitarian minister. Pressey envisioned a simple and rewarding life through dedication to spiritual values, the arts and crafts, and the beauty of the earth. Basketry, furniture making, weaving, and printing were practiced. Rollins was sent there at the request of Pressey, who had written Heintzemann asking for a man to provide general printing advice and help in setting up a printing course in the community's school for boys. Rollins stayed on to print at the New Clairvaux Press. The colony failed some five years later, but after only a year, Rollins lost

the sight in one eye, probably from a detached retina, and was told to give up printing.

After a trip to Europe and attempts at several other jobs, Rollins returned to Montague in 1907. He first bought the Dyke Mill and started an arts and crafts cooperative which included furniture making, candle dipping, weaving, and so on. Rollins added printing when he finally decided to do what he liked most for as long as possible, and printing in time became the *only* craft practiced there. He renamed the mill The Montague Press and sought commissions from Boston and New York. Friends came to visit, as did Mabel and Bill Dwiggins, and to print at the press, as did Bruce Rogers. In his circular publicizing the press, Rollins wrote: ''It was believed, and events have justified the belief, that a small office, where the maximum of personal oversight could be given to each commission, could be established in the country, in surroundings the most attractive, and where the superior quality of the work would be the chief consideration. . . . Good printing is not a matter of peculiarities of style but of a close adherence to those recognized qualities of simplicity, proportion and harmony which underlie all artistic production.'' Rollins became the local printer and printed posters, announcements, and the local paper, *The Montague Calendar*. This weekly ran from 1912 through 1917 and sold for a penny a copy.

In 1915 Rollins married Margaret Dickey, a schoolteacher who lived in Montague, and their first child was born in 1917. Commissions began to dry up as World War I progressed, and Rollins looked elsewhere for work. Friends had discovered an opening at the Yale University Press, and Rollins accepted the position of manager of the Manufacturing Department in 1918, taking along his press and types, which later formed the nucleus of the Printing-Office of the Press.

In 1920, Rollins was appointed Printer to Yale University with the rank of professor. For nearly thirty years he designed the books published by the Press and was responsible for all catalogues and printed ephemera used by the university, including library slips, course lists, tickets, bookplates, and diplomas. His designs were straightforward, attractive, and interesting, and he introduced many new typefaces into the Press repertory such as Bembo, Bell, Garamond, and Baskerville, while continuing to make use of his old favorite, Caslon. Rollins was fascinated with type specimen books and collected a large number of them which came as a collection to the Yale library many years ago.

The effect of Rollins's consistent and talented attention to design, his adept use of typefaces, and his high standards of bookmaking were a significant influence elsewhere. The general level of university printing was greatly improved not only at Yale but across the country by its example. Over sixty of his book designs were chosen for the American Institute of Graphic Arts (AIGA) Fifty Books of the Year exhibits over a twenty-two-year period, an outstanding record which drew attention to the capabilities of a university press that was restricted in costs and in the prices it could charge the public. This impressive showing also

supported Rollins's belief that one can produce good designs for the same price as bad. Although he felt more comfortable with hand-set type and printing on the handpress, Rollins came to terms with the machines that were necessary to university printing. In a 1932 address he said: ''We must preserve the machine so far as it is useful, but no farther. We must dominate it and not let it dominate us.'' He made efficient use of machines but felt that they could not replace close attention to detail and typographic layout.

Rollins built a house in New Haven at 146 Armory Street with a book-lined study to contain his own small Albion handpress, At the Sign of the Chorobates, for which Dwiggins drew the pressmark. Many broadsides and several books were set and/or printed here. Two of these books were among his favorites. One was Seldon Rose's *Wine Making for the Amateur,* printed in 1930. The illustrations were based on drawings by W. A. Dwiggins after photographs and cut in wood by F. H. Fischer. The other was R. L. Stevenson's *A Lodging for the Night,* which was designed and printed in 1923. The title was chosen and published at the invitation of the Grolier Club as one of six books designed by ''eminent American printers.'' It is charming, appealing, and very easy to read with its large type, generous margins, and red accents. Printed in an edition of 300 copies and set by hand in Rollins's favorite Caslon type, the volume was chosen as one of the Fifty Books of 1923 by the AIGA. Rollins's second daughter, Caroline, still lives in the Armory Street house, which is filled with warm wood paneling, books familiar and unfamiliar, and pleasant mementos of her parents. Rollins's press is now at Princeton.

Carl Rollins actively fulfilled his professorship. He was a scholar and participated in the academic life of the university. In the 1920s he taught an undergraduate course in bibliography which became known as the printing seminar. At the library he established the Bibliographical Press to provide students ''with an experimental laboratory where they might learn to use the tools of the 18th century printer as he used them.'' He encouraged both students and their elders to design and print, and he was one of the founders of the Honorable Company of College Printers, which is still going strong today. He printed keepsakes for meetings and wayzgooses, and he inspired numerous Yale students with a love of printing and of books in general.

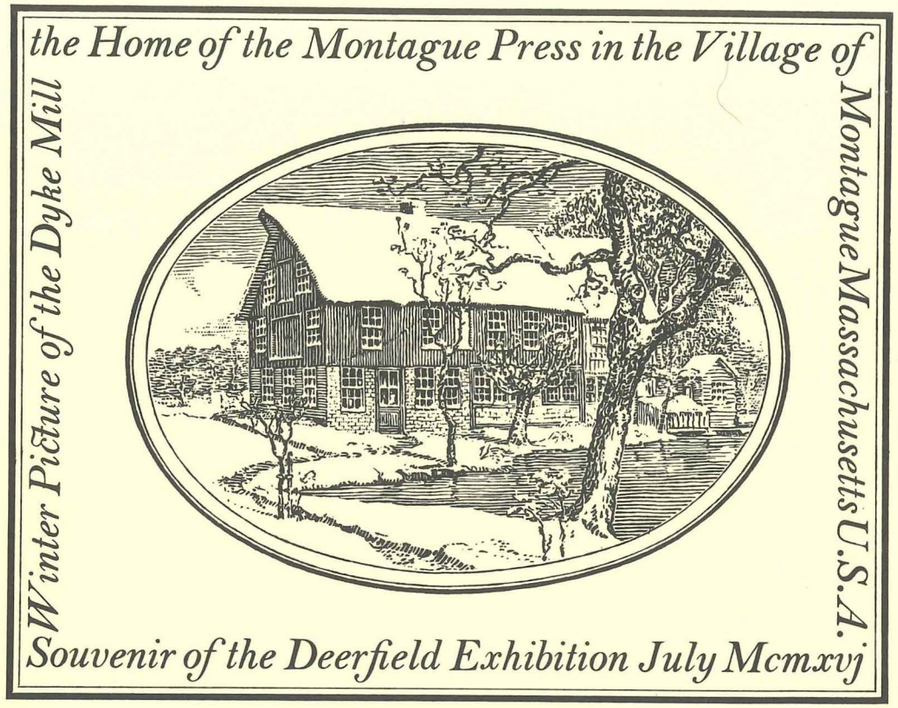
Rollins lectured around the country and was typographic consultant to the Rutgers University Press. Starting in 1927 and running for ten years, he wrote a witty and informative weekly column for *The Saturday Review of Literature* entitled ''The Compleat Collector'' in which he reviewed books and discussed the activities of the lively typographic world he knew. He was also a member of the editorial board of *The Dolphin* in 1940–41. A number of Rollins's articles, talks, and poems were collected in *Off the Dead Bank,* the Typophiles Chap Book Number 19, published in 1949. Rollins maintained friendships with many of the typographic greats of his time and carried on considerable correspondence with such luminaries

as Dwiggins, Updike, and Rogers. Rollins was a founding member of the Columbiad Club and contributed to the tradition of providing keepsakes. He was a good friend of Harold Hugo, past president of the Meriden Gravure Company, and of many other Connecticut printers. He also participated in the activities of several other typographic groups, including the Grolier Club.

The AIGA awarded Carl Rollins their highest honor, the gold medal, in 1941 in recognition of his contributions to craftsmanship and scholarship in printing, an honor earlier bestowed on Rogers, Dwiggins, Goudy, and Updike. Yale awarded Rollins an honorary masters degree in 1920, named him Printer Emeritus upon his retirement in 1948, and presented him with an Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters in 1949. He continued to serve as consultant for the printing of the university and the press for many years after his retirement. Exhibits of his work were held at the Grolier Club, Dartmouth, and Yale.

Carl Rollins designed over 2,000 volumes while at Yale, and he made every one a good, readable piece of printing. Some of his favorite designs besides the two already mentioned included Whittier's *Snowbound* for the Limited Editions Club. Published in 1930 in an edition of 1,500 copies at the Printing-Office of the Yale University Press, this title had a paper wrapper with an appropriate snowlike pattern. The design of the title page, the use of Clarence Hornung's decorative Vogue initials, and the colored initials in the text were a departure from his normal style but fitting for the title. Rollins also chose his design of Bertha Trowbridge's *Old Houses of Connecticut,* originally done for the Yale Press in 1923, as one of his favorites. The title page had a frontispiece by Rudolph Ruzicka. This work presented severe typographic problems. It had a generously illustrated text with unusual-shaped pictures, house plans, and technical descriptions—but Rollins handled them adeptly. He also designed the format for the series of Horace Walpole's *Correspondence,* started in 1937 and also one of his favorites. *The Journal of a Lady of Quality* by Janet Schaw, published in 1921, was another of Rollins's Yale favorites. He decorated the title page with printers' ornaments and chose marbled board papers and a printed paper label for the outside, practices characteristic of much private press and limited edition printing at the time. Bruce Rogers picked this title as his favorite design by Rollins. Thoreau's *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience* was printed At the Sign of the Chorobates in 1928 and was also a Rogers choice. The first separate edition of this title to be published in the United States, it was printed with help from Rollins's wife in an edition of 300 copies with a frontispiece by Rockwell Kent.

As can be seen from this brief review of Rollins's activities, he was a prolific and well-respected designer. We have to remember that what we see now as a solid, clear, mature typographic style was the exception rather than the rule in the teens, twenties and thirties. Earl S. Miers, manager of the Rutgers University Press in the thirties and forties wrote in 1941 that ''The publications which have come out of Yale University under the supervision of Mr. Rollins have been like


the Home of the Montague Press in the Village of
Montague Massachusetts U.S.A.
Winter Picture of the Dyke Mill
Souvenir of the Deerfield Exhibition July Mcmxvj

Dyke Mill: A drawing of the Dyke Mill in Montague, Massachusetts, made by Bruce Rogers for his friend, Rollins. Rollins used it on a Souvenir of the Deerfield Exhibition, July 1916, that he printed at the Dyke Mill.

Plumb bob: The printer's device used by Rollins at his own private press, At the Sign of the Chorobates. It was designed and drawn by W. A. Dwiggins.

soldiers in a crusade. Each one has proclaimed that there is no need for stodginess and mediocrity in institutional printing. The college world should beat a path to Mr. Rollins' door.'' And it did. Upon his retirement, Rollins was praised as ''one of the few great typographers who have made our time in America notable in the history of art. His work has never been showy. Rather, it has been distinguished by clarity, simplicity, a beautiful sense of proportion—and an adaptability to the needs of a country where the printed word has multiplied as never before in history.'' (*Saturday Review,* June 19, 1948)

The Mary Flagler Cary Bequest of Carl Rollins's printing library was made to the Yale library in 1969 after Rollins's death nine years earlier. The Carys were good friends of the Rollinses, and Mrs. Cary was particularly close to Margaret Rollins. The library was purchased by Mrs. Cary and was to come to Yale upon the death of Mrs. Rollins. In February and March of 1981, the printing library was transferred to the Arts of the Book Room in the Sterling Memorial Library after her death in January of that year. The collection consisted of approximately 1,200 volumes, over 100 notebooks and scrapbooks, and eight file drawers of ephemera. The collection was installed in the old 1742 Room, a replica of the original room that housed the Yale library first cataloged by President Clapp in 1742. The Carl P. Rollins Collection is maintained there as part of the Arts of the Book Collection, which is located immediately downstairs from it. The Rollins Collection is now fully cataloged. It is full of riches, and though it is obvious Rollins did not buy every new book on typography published, he collected a very solid working library of classic texts and many very special treasures that dress the collection up considerably.

Rollins was painstaking about his acquisitions and not only shelved each volume in its proper location with respect to the rest of the collection, but he cataloged every item using his own system of catalog cards and call numbers. The cards were handwritten or typed, and the call numbers were marked on the inside front fly leaf or the spine or front cover of each book. He used a series of small bookplates in all items except the most ephemeral. Many books also contained the history of their acquisition, and it is clear that Rollins enjoyed the chase in the secondhand book market. In fact, one of his pride and joys was the four-volume set of *Typographical Antiquities* by Thomas Frognall Dibdin printed in 1810, which had belonged to William Morris. The typed sheet Rollins tipped in described the serendipitous acquisition. He had seen the title in an English auction catalog but failed to obtain it through a friend who visited England. It was sold at Sothebys and came to Rollins twelve years later when James M. Osborn, another Yale associate, revealed that he had purchased the set and exchanged it with Rollins. Rollins noted, ''Truly it does, as Lefty Lewis says, take Chinese patience to be a book collector.''

The Carl P. Rollins Library is, in fact, an excellent teaching and reference collection and is made unique by the more than 100 notebooks and scrapbooks

put together by Rollins. The three-ring notebooks contain every typographic subject imaginable and are alphabetically organized. An example of a few pages from the notebooks is sufficient to show the variety of this gathering. Included were such things as a photostat from De Vinne's book, *Title Pages as Seen by a Printer,* an example of ''tile typography'' by Earl Emmons from a 1946 cover of *Printing,* a typographic print by Albert Schiller, and a color postcard from Ray Nash. The postcard shows two Southwest Arizona Indian women grinding corn on a flat stone. Nash drew wiggly lines on the stone, added the date 1539, and titled the card: ''Printing in the New World by means of a handpress.'' On the back he wrote: ''This close-up of American prototypographer taking his first proof ought to be better known.'' These notebooks are proof of Rollins's wide-ranging interests and fine organization, and they provide current references to such topics as types of printing presses, styles of design, and designers, clippings both scholarly and popular. The notebooks are a gold mine of information from a huge number of sources from the twenties through the fifties, and a leisurely perusal of any one of them is highly rewarding. Carl Rollins also collected title pages as design specimens and printed ephemera from American private presses, including some prize items.

The book collection itself contains many well-known periodical titles such as *The Colophon, Print, Signature, The Fleuron, The Dolphin,* and *Ars Typographica.* Rollins was a contributing editor to *The Colophon,* and articles both by and about him appeared in many of these titles. The complete ten years' worth of his articles for the *Saturday Review* are here along with the Typophiles Chap Books and annuals from the Grolier Club, Century Club, Bibliographical Society, and others. A very special serial in this collection is a bound copy of *The Stamp Journal,* 1894–95, Rollins's very first publication done on his childhood handpress.

As for monographs, Rollins concentrated on the printing arts and typographic history, but many other subjects are also well represented, including calligraphy, papermaking, watermarks, bookplates, and so on. Several early typographic books, both historical and practical, are included, such as Philip Luckombe's *A Concise History of the Origin and Progress of Printing* printed in London in 1770, John Smith's *Printer's Grammar* from London, 1755, and Thomas Adams's *Typographia,* printed in Philadelphia in 1837. Four later editions of the *Typographia* are also present, and I suspect that collecting the various editions of important works about practical printing was an obsession with Rollins. There is the complete set of eighteen editions of Thomas MacKellar's *American Printer,* published in Philadelphia between 1866 and 1893. Such a collection is extremely important for its documentation of the changes that took place in practice during that time. The collection also boasts the first edition of Isaiah Thomas's *History of Printing in America* from 1810, Van Winkle's *Printer's Guide* from New York, 1818, a 1637 Decree of Starr-Chamber concerning printing, several early French works, including Fournier Le Jeune's *Manuel Typographique* from 1864, and a number of

other late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century titles important in the history of printing.

The work of Rollins's friends and peers is represented by small groups of books and includes highly collectible publications by Will Bradley, the bookplate and other volumes of Rockwell Kent, several of Dwiggins's creations, and many items associated with Bruce Rogers. Rogers was a close friend, and the two designer/printers visited each other and corresponded regularly over a forty-year period. Rogers presented many of his own productions to Rollins, including Geofroy Tory's *Champ Rose,* Albrecht Dürer's *Roman Letters,* the first specimen book of his Centaur type, and *Letters* and *More Letters* from T. E. Shaw, all of which have inscriptions to Rollins in them. Other gifts were exchanged, including a special volume, the *Repertorium Alphabeticum* by Conrad Mulbrunn, printed in 1508 by Langedorff and Froben.

Rogers's correspondence with Rollins is a delightful exchange, starting out quite formally in 1902 with ''Dear Sir'' in answer to Rollins's inquiry concerning Rogers's Montaigne type. Rogers went on:

> The design of the type may properly be called my own though it is modelled closely as to size and proportions upon Nicolas Jensen's 15th century Roman face. Still enough individuality has gone into the handling of the details of its construction to produce an original face—as originality goes nowadays—and I am free to say that truly speaking, I am not a believer in 'originality' as generally understood—that is, the sort of originality that discards all preceding models as far as possible and boldly strikes out with the announced intention of producing something 'new'—The results may be 'new' but they are almost invariably bad, at the same time—and I prefer to be accused of copying rather than to produce eccentricities. There is large field for the play of genuine originality and personality even in this endeavor to reproduce standard models in any art.

When the correspondence starts again in 1914, the subjects are various printing jobs and visits to Montague, and the warmest regard is displayed through to the last letter in 1954.

In 1923, Rogers described a 250-year-old house he had found in Cos Cob, Connecticut, where he boarded three days a week for a time while working at the Rudge Press. On the second page he wrote:

> I was sorry to hear of your mishap with the Grolier book. I wonder if it really was as bad as you say. You are so damned particular—I'll bet it could have been let go and nobody would have been the wiser. A little matter of register wouldn't have troubled me greatly (but perhaps you mean the red with the black—and not through the sheet—I'd forgotten for the moment that you had two colors.)

The book Rogers was referring to was R. L. Stevenson's *A Lodging for the Night,* and our copy certainly has no registration problems. Rogers was recovering from

the grippe when he wrote this letter, and he went on to say: "I feel pretty rocky yet but am all right again, except my vocal chords—which aren't vocal and don't chord." Their relationship was both serious and fun, and one of only two typed letters in the collection which was sent from England is hilarious. Rogers, known as B. R., talked about "my new inglesh tipriter" which "cant' rite Amer(Ican)esy yet and is a litle hard of spelink." He described the day he went to see boat races on the Thames:

> [We] went to sea some boat-razors from 2 old-worldly coleges cald oxFord & camBR!dge but they couldent row 1/2 as fast as a never-rude & it seamed a great waist of time & strenth for when they finely got to mortLake where they were going they turned round & came back to where they started so they dident want to go there after all which all seamed very foolish to me.

Before the race, Rogers met E.W. (Emery Walker), "who is cald the Nester off inglesh printink" and "SinGin HornAby who is running the Ash & Dean press into the ground back of his house." Needless to say, the friendship between Rollins and Rogers was important to both, and several designs were made for Yale by B. R. because of this connection.

Considerable correspondence also exists between Rollins and W. A. Dwiggins, particularly from the twenties. Not only did Dwiggins, a funny and very rational man, illustrate his letters from time to time and discuss the Püterschein projects, a few of which involved Rollins, but also wrote of his convictions and philosophies—especially in one letter sent in answer to a discouraged Rollins:

> I hope that a lightning stroke as a solution of your troubles is less desirable today. . . . Art has nothing to do with democracy. You must get that out of your head. You want to serve the state by setting type nicely. This is a mistake. It has been revealed to me by a sojourn in the middle west that art is to be pursued solely as a personal matter. People do not want it, and it is entirely all right that they shouldn't. Old man Morris led us all astray by his dream of a popular or democrat art activity. It isn't there, old cock, and for one I am content that it isn't there. Sweat the popular art poison out of your blood, and start in pleasing yourself and you have cured *one* trouble in your state of affairs. There are many others to be cured, I wot. Lightning don't cure nothing, however.

Another group of letters exists from D. B. Updike, much of it concerning the printing of the Standard Prayer Book. In one of the letters from 1930, Updike agreed with Rollins that "the 'limited edition' field seems pretty well crowded" and asks Rollins if he had seen Frederic Warde's Walt Whitman, "Very refined, very delicate and very elegant—all the things Whitman *was not!* " He sent a congratulatory telegram and letter to Rollins upon the award of the AIGA medal in 1941, the year of Updike's death. In it he said:

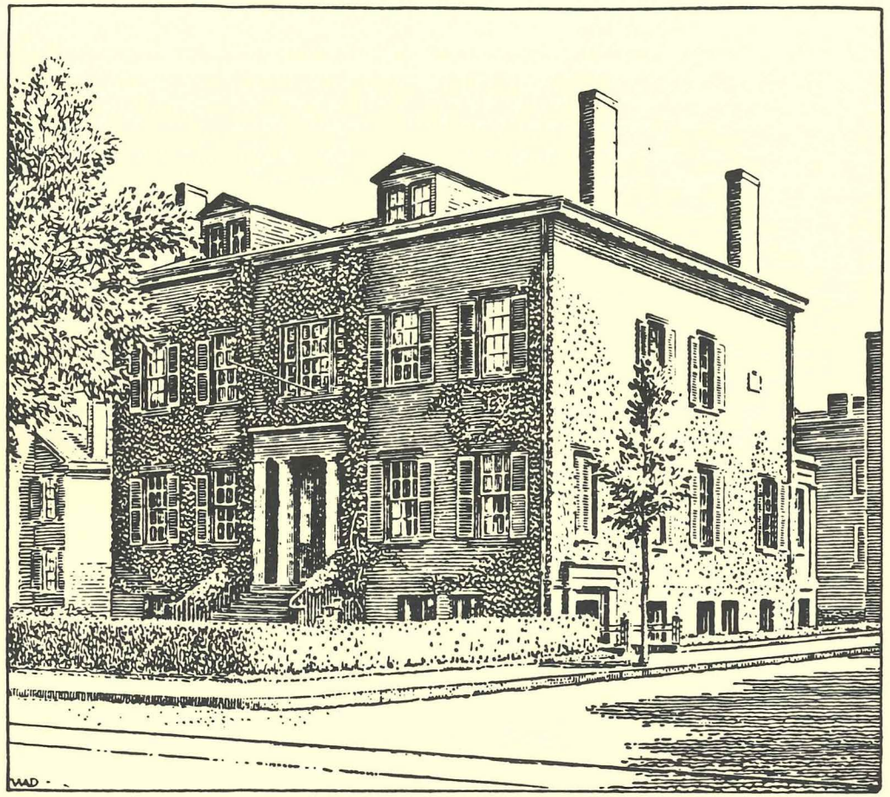
> As to the medal itself, I know how you feel about it. It is pleasant to have it, but one does not sit down and gloat over it. Such testimonials are a good deal like academic degrees—they come to us not when we need them but after we have ceased to—and by the time we get them, knowing the ways of the world, we receive them in a tempered spirit. This tempered spirit being taken for modesty instead of what it really is, mild indifference, has an admirable effect upon the public. Those who experience such honors (after smiling ironically at each other) proceed to do the next thing that has to be done, which in turn incurs praise.

The world of private presses also fascinated Rollins, and he collected many bibliographic works about the Kelmscott, Eragny, Essex House, Ashendene, and Doves presses in England as well as a huge number of productions, both books and ephemera, from American private presses. The ephemera are perhaps more important because of their scarcity, and taken together they form a first-rate resource on American printing during the four decades when Rollins was most active. An entire box of ephemera is present from the Merrymount Press, and another large box contains some very choice items by and about Frederic Goudy, including *Spinach from Many Gardens* in unbound sheets.

As for Rollins's own work, few of the books he designed for the Yale press are present, although most of the design projects including some proofs from the earlier presses and his private work are included. Rollins liked small books, such as the *Midwinter Budget* he designed and printed at Montague. However, he felt comfortable at both extremes, and his largest title page, printed for the University of Michigan Press by the Meriden Gravure Company, was twenty-one inches tall.

Rollins was not only a prominent typographer and designer but a true collector who gathered an excellent working library. Although only parts of his collection have been described here, the whole *is* greater than the sum of the parts. It will provide a fine scholarly resource for researchers and students in the future.

GAY WALKER is Head Librarian, Preservation Department, and Curator, Arts of the Book Collection, Yale University Library.



The Earl Trumbull Williams Memorial at 143 Elm Street, an early home of the Yale University Press.

Reflections of a New Haven Typographer

by John O. C. McCrillis

On the first of August 1952 I became a member of the staff of the Yale University Press, which was then located at 143 Elm Street, corner of Temple, in a lovely building that had originally been the residence of the Ingersoll family. My title was assistant typographer, assistant to Alvin Eisenman, who had come to the Press in 1950. He succeeded Carl Purington Rollins, who had retired in 1948 after thirty years as printer to the university.

Yale University Press was founded in 1908 by George Parmly Day and his wife, Wilhelmine. By 1952 it was well established, with a reputation as one of the finest university presses in the country. Norman V. Donaldson was director. There were forty or so staff members. The officers and heads of the departments were, besides Mr. Donaldson, Chester B. Kerr, secretary; Eugene A. Davidson, editor; Mark Carroll, sales; Alvin Eisenman, design; Dow Kling, accounting; and Ruth Bernier, production. Mr. Day, who had also been treasurer of the university until his retirement, was chairman of the board of directors of the Press, so we used to see him rather frequently.

Carl Purington Rollins was one of the eminent printers of his time and counted among his close friends Daniel Berkeley Updike, W. A. Dwiggins, and Bruce Rogers. Rollins came to the Press from Montague, Massachusetts, where he had already gained a reputation for his work. In 1918 he settled in New Haven as Printer to the University. Besides designing the books published by the Press, he was a lecturer and writer on the graphic arts. He retired in 1948 but continued to create beautiful books long after his retirement.

Alvin Eisenman received his early training in printing at Dartmouth College under the supervision of Ray Nash. By the time he was asked in 1950 to become successor to Carl Rollins at the Press he was an art director for McGraw-Hill, New York publishers. Eisenman came to New Haven in a dual capacity. He joined the staff of the Press as typographer and also became the head of the newly created

department of graphic design at the Yale School of Art and Architecture.

I had graduated in 1939 from the Rhode Island School of Design with a diploma in graphic arts and had settled in Boston, where D. B. Updike of the Merrymount Press had befriended me. My free-lance work there was interrupted in May 1942, when I was drafted into the Army Air Force. After three and one half years of service I settled in Philadelphia for a year. In 1946 I was invited to join the faculty of the Kansas City Art Institute in Kansas City, Missouri, where I became head of their graphics program. I felt that only a diploma, despite the amount of experience, was not enough to remain in the teaching field. By then the Rhode Island School of Design was granting a BFA degree, and by returning to Providence for a year and doing some part-time teaching at the school at the same time I was studying, I achieved a BFA degree.

I was accepted at Yale in the fall of 1950 in the newly formed graphic arts department, where I became assistant to Alvin Eisenman while working for my MFA degree. Upon graduation in 1952 I applied for the job offered at the Press as assistant typographer and became Alvin Eisenman's assistant there.

The building at 143 Elm Street is set back about thirty feet from the street behind a low privet hedge. It is a red brick building with white trim, a basement with half windows, two floors, and a third floor with dormer windows. Several stone steps lead up to a small portico with four wooden columns at the entrance. A double door with glass panels and side lights opened into a spacious front hall where a receptionist sat at her desk. The room to the right of the entrance was the library, whose shelves were filled with books published by the Press as well as an assortment of reference books. The room was nicely furnished with a horsehair sofa, a comfortable wing chair with pale yellow upholstery, and a drop leaf table in the center of the room displaying some of the recently published books.

Mr. Donaldson's office was the room to the left of the entrance. Besides the usual director's desk and a couple of chairs and well-stocked bookcases, a grandfather's clock stood in one corner. It was not running, but I'm told that in the bottom of it were stored a bottle or two of liquid refreshment to be brought out for some special occasion observed in the adjacent boardroom. The boardroom was also used as a conference room for weekly meetings. Behind this room was Mr. Rollins's office, which he was permitted to retain though retired. A marvelous collection of type books and other reference books was displayed on bookshelves along one wall. His flat-topped desk stood between two windows on the west side. A pine blanket chest between the windows on the north side was used to store paper samples and ink sample books. A paper trimmer rested on a small table in the center of the room, and there was an enormous wastepaper basket near one window, about four feet tall and a foot in diameter. Mr. Rollins was a pipe smoker and it was his habit to light up while conversing with somebody. He used wooden matches, and without looking he would gently wave the match

after stoking his pipe, reach over, and casually drop the match in the basket. More than once the match had not gone out and a fire started, whereupon, without interrupting the conversation, Mr. Rollins would open the window and casually empty the flaming contents outside.

Behind the library, opposite Mr. Rollins's office, was Mrs. Bernier's bailiwick. There were desks for her and her two girls, Valeria White and Cele Syrotiak, more shelves for reference books pertaining to problems in production as well as order books and record books. At the rear of the hall a door led to an open porch and steps down to a small parking lot. Just beyond the fence between the Press parking lot and the Faculty Club backyard was a small marker that read ''Beloved Fellow Creature,'' the burial place of a monkey of Miss Tina Ingersoll's, former resident of the building.

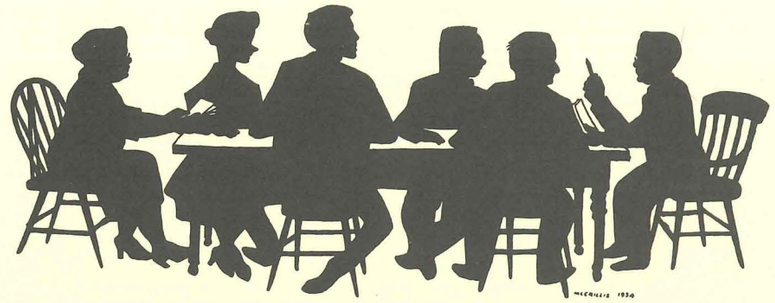
A wide staircase led up to the second floor. In the center front of the building upstairs was a small room where Chester Kerr presided as secretary. Just outside his office was the sales department, where Mark Carroll and his staff worked on the advertising and selling of the books. The room to the back on the west side was Gene Davidson's office, and across from that was the editorial department. Roberta Yerkes, assistant to Gene, had a small office there. She trained new people coming into the editorial department and edited manuscripts herself.

Near rest rooms on the west side a narrow staircase with steep steps led up to the third floor, where all was unfinished attic used for inactive file storage, save for one small room with a dormer window.

The accounting department was in the basement. *The Yale Review* also used space in the basement, although it was never a part of the Press.

Mr. Rollins's office was not considered large enough to accommodate three people, so upon my arrival, Alvin and I moved to the small room in the attic. It was before the halcyon days of air conditioning and so the summers were rather brutal. It meant running electric fans full tilt, and papers had to be weighted down with anything handy.

The job that Alvin and I had was to take the manuscripts released from the editorial department and miraculously turn them into finished books. We worked very closely with the editorial department and with production. Besides the designing of books it was the responsibility of the designers to do various jobs for the sales department and for the Printing-Office. The Printing-Office, with James W. Boyden in charge, was in the Winchester Building on Munson Street. Steve Denison was in charge of the shipping department in the same building. The Printing-Office did all the printing for the University and some for faculty members and others. Any special design problems were handled by Alvin and me. This certainly added variety because the jobs could range from a departmental catalogue to a letterhead design. Catalogues, posters, and mailing pieces for the Art Gallery as well as design jobs for the Medical Library and Peabody Museum were all in the day's work in addition to the books.



Production meeting of 1954. *Left to right:* Ruth Bernier, Roberta Yerkes, Alvin Eisenman, Mark Carroll, John McCrillis, and Norman Donaldson, director.

Alvin Eisenman, Crimilda Pontes, and John McCrillis were the art department.

Once a week a production meeting, conducted by Mr. Donaldson, was held in the boardroom. Others attending were Ruth Bernier, Roberta Yerkes, Mark Carroll, Alvin Eisenman and me. The purpose was to try to keep the books on schedule as far as editorial, design, and production were concerned and to discuss promotion and sales of various titles.

In 1952 letterpress printing was the only kind of printing the Yale University Press would consider. Offset printing was beginning to come into its own, but the quality was not up to the standards expected by the Press. We depended on commercial book printers to produce our books for us. The two leading ones were Connecticut Printers, Inc., who were in downtown Hartford, and the Vail-Ballou Press in Binghamton, New York. For art books we turned to the Meriden Gravure Company in Meriden to reproduce the illustrations by collotype, a gelatin process which they have since replaced with their fine 300-line screen.

The engravings for linecuts and halftones were made by local engraving houses—Willcox Engraving Co., Inc., at 364 Orange Street, and the Rundbaken Engraving Co. at 11 Orange Street. These engravings were then packed up and sent off to the printer.

Typesetting for jackets or advertising which we could not handle in our small printing plant was set by Planck's Typographic Service on Center Street downtown and by Southern New England Typographic Service at 2115 Dixwell Avenue. We also used to have some type set by a New York typesetter if the type was not available locally.

Illustrations for art books often came from original glossy prints or from books and prints. Each illustration had to be marked for the size to be reproduced, and blueprints were ordered for use in the pasted-up layout. Enterprise Blueprint Co. at 88 Elm Street or Century Reproduction, then on the corner of Whitney and Grove, would provide what was needed. Halftones for letterpress printing were expensive so blueprints were made for the layout first.

The book jackets during this period, and later the covers for the paperbound volumes, were printed at City Printing, which had taken over an old bank on Bristol Street. A. D. Steinback & Sons at 60 Fitch Street also did some of the printing. I became a frequent visitor at both places to check proofs before the job was put on press. These printers also printed our fall and spring catalogues. Once in a while a job would be printed at the John Corbett Press at 273 State Street. Sometimes we would use Eastern Press, then at 885 Congress Avenue. When we moved into our new building on York Street, Eastern Press became our exclusive printer for jackets and catalogues if we didn't print them in our own plant.

When Chester Kerr became the director of the Press in 1959 I became the head of the design department. Alvin's schedule at the Art School became a heavier responsibility, so he concentrated on that. He was retained at the Press as a consultant in printing and did design an occasional book.

John McCrillis, Ruth Bernier, and author Christopher Tunnard checking proof.

Valeria White and Cecelia Syrotiak, assistants to Mrs. Bernier.

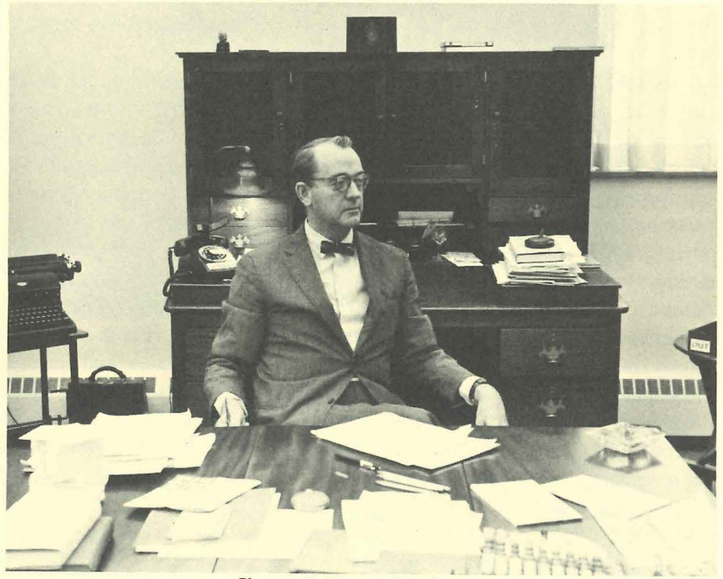
Plans were materializing in 1959 to have our printing office, which was then in Hamden, under the same roof as the Press. We were already bursting at the seams at 143 Elm Street, so it meant finding a new location. The old Bond Bakery building on York Street was chosen as the site, and Carleton Granberry was selected as the architect to perform the transformation of the building. By this time offset printing had been perfected and was rapidly giving letterpress stiff competition. Alvin, as adviser on printing, urged the switch to offset, and a large Harris press was ordered. A camera department and plate-making department were added. It was somewhat ironic that the new printing plant, with its heavy emphasis on offset, was named the Carl Purington Rollins Printing-Office of the Yale University Press. Carl had always been strictly a letterpress man. I know, however, that he was honored to have it named for him.

What an asset for a designer to have access to the printing of his works right at hand! It was only a few steps away to check a proof or a color on a press before the job was printed. In the shop we had a good selection of monotype faces for book work and a reasonable selection of hand-set type for display use. With our new equipment the Printing-Office could print about 15 percent of our titles for the Press besides doing all the printing for the university.

Paperbounds were already popular, but Yale Press did not get involved in publishing any until 1954, when it was decided to try them with reprints of the Yale Shakespeare. Colonial Press in Clinton, Massachusetts, was chosen as the printer because it had all the facilities, including binding. It was a great success right from the start so other reprints were put into paper almost immediately. We felt we needed a local binder for some of these titles, so Peck Bindery, then on Pitkin Street, later on Hallock Avenue, was called into service. Bindings for our hardbound books were done by Russell Rutter of New York or Robert Burlen of Boston, except for the books at Vail-Ballou, where they had their own bindery. About this time the Press turned to another supplier for printing our books in addition to the ones we were using. This was the Murray Printing Co., then at Forge Village, Massachusetts. They had complete services, including binding facilities.

Carlton Stevens of the Langeler-Stevens Advertising Agency, 152 Temple Street, handled the advertising for the Press in the 1950s and early 1960s. Sally Hargrove Harris got her early training there after graduating from the Yale School of Art and Architecture. She later became one of the leading designers at the Press, where she is presently employed.

Three annual competitions are of particular interest to the designers at the Press. These are solely for quality of design, printing, and binding; content was not taken into consideration. One of these annual shows is sponsored by the American Institute of Graphic Arts with headquarters in New York. This competition is open to any publisher in the country, whether commercial, a university press, or a private press. From all the entries the judges, who are chosen annually, select



Chester B. Kerr at his desk.

what they consider to be the fifty best books of the year. For another annual show sponsored by the Association of American University Presses, the judges select twenty-five of what they consider to be the best books produced by an American university press. The third competition, the New England Book Show, is strictly regional. The Yale University Press many times had winners in all three of these. One year Alvin and I between us snagged five of the fifty books in the AIGA show. We were not very popular among other designers that year because they were sure it was fixed. There was always a banquet and a formal opening of the exhibitions, and it was always a nice feeling to be a winner.

When the Press moved to 149 York Street it was only half a block from the Art School. Arrangements were made so that an advanced student in graphics could get some experience in book design. Usually one student was selected each year to work part time at the Press while enrolled at the school; the training of this student fell to me. Many of these men and women later became professionals in the field of book design.

My teaching of calligraphy in the Art School started about 1954 and lasted into the late sixties, when it was no longer a required course. This was taught two days a week after my daily routine at the Press.

Of the hundreds of books which I have designed, I might mention a few which were of special interest to me. Rollin G. Osterweis's *Three Centuries of New Haven* was one of my earliest books. It was published in 1953, and Rollin became a staunch friend. Then there was the famous *Vinland Map,* by Skelton, Marston, and Painter. My favorite is perhaps *Magellan's Voyage* by Antonio Pigafetta. It is in two volumes in a slipcase. The first volume is an English translation by R. A. Skelton of the British Museum made from the illuminated manuscript in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale, and the second volume is a facsimile of the manuscript, reproduced in full color. This was printed by Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, Haarlem, Holland, on specially made paper. Then there is *Bibliography of Books on Alaska* published before 1868 by Valerian Lada-Mocarski, printed in our own Carl Purington Rollins Printing-Office. *Gutenberg and the Master of the Playing Cards* by Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt is another book which I designed and which was also printed at the Press. I established the format for *Poems on Affairs of State,* edited by George deForest Lord, and saw all volumes in the series through the press. *The Gentle Puritan* by Edmund S. Morgan is a story about Ezra Stiles. *Children of Pride,* a thick volume of letters from Georgia during the Civil War, was edited by Robert Manson Myers. Vincent Scully's *Shingle Style of Architecture* is a classic. And the *Catalogue of American Portraits,* in two volumes, was sponsored by the New York Historical Society. Theodore Sizer, a former teacher of mine, was a pleasure to cooperate with on his book, *The Works of Jonathan Trumbull.* I established the format and worked on two volumes of the *Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe,* the father of architecture in this country. This is only a sampling.

There were catalogues, invitations, announcements. Frequently I was asked to letter placecards for a luncheon or dinner party given in honor of an author or esteemed visitor. One morning Chester Kerr called me from the airport to read over the phone a list of names for placecards at a party which he was giving that night.

It was an exciting period in the history of the Press and I am honored to have been a part of it. Now we live in the age of computers and great hustle and bustle. The difference is as wide as the transition from hand-set type and hand presses to the linotype and monotype of my era. It is a different world, just as exciting, but now, after passing the torch, I can watch it from the sidelines, which I find a pleasant reflection.

JOHN O. C. McCRILLIS, Typographer and Calligrapher Emeritus, Yale University Press; teacher; owner of The Penny-Whistle Press, Branford, Connecticut.

Fine Press Printing:
The Meriden Gravure Company

by Eleanor Kelman

MERIDEN GRAVURE

The place of Meriden, Connecticut, in the colonies dates back to the early 1630s, when John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton arrived in the colony of New Haven, then in the possession of about 12,000 to 15,000 various Indian tribes. Fish and fowl were plentiful. Neither war nor disease had depleted the Indian population. In 1638 the English settlers purchased the entire area from the Mattabesitt tribe for twelve coats of English cloth, spoons, hatchets, hoes, knives, and porringers.

Until 1806 Meriden existed as a section of Wallingford, a village within the New Haven colony. It was located in a swampy refuge for wild animals appropriately called Dogs Misery. Time and time again the farmers whose property ringed Dogs Misery petitioned the General Assembly for independence from Wallingford. Finally, on the second Thursday in May 1806, Meriden's petition was accepted. [1]

In the years preceding the Civil War Meriden became one of the stops on the Underground Railroad for slaves fleeing the South. It was among the first Connecticut towns to send a militia into the Civil War. One of its most prominent residents, Charles Parker, called a meeting of the citizenry to exhort people to action. A company was immediately raised, and Parker presented each volunteer with a Colt revolver. [2]

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

In the full flower of the Industrial Revolution, Meriden farmers relinquished their foremost economic position to manufacturing. Throughout the state of Connecticut plant capacity and manufacturing skills brought wealth to its cotton and woolen mills. Shipbuilding flourished in the seaside towns. The burgeoning prosperity and rapid population growth in the post-Civil War years attracted people to the urban centers.

Meriden's population in the twenty years between 1850 and 1870 jumped from 3,559 to 10,095, an increase of 195 percent. One hundred and twenty-one chartered companies developed an extensive turnpike system. Political patronage routed the railroad through Meriden. The Industrial Revolution had come to Meriden, Connecticut.[3]

But it was on the plains of Montana where the unlikely combination of American cowboys and refrigeration came together in the 1880s, and their conjunction generated the formation of the Meriden Gravure Company, one of the outstanding fine press printing firms in the United States.

MONTANA TO MERIDEN

J. F. Allen, son of one of the founding families of Meriden, had headed west to Montana to raise cattle and make his stake. The development of refrigeration and of an extensive railroad network had made it possible to ship beef to the East Coast. Cowboys rode the 14,000 square miles of Montana range, and there was great prosperity until the winter of 1886, when a fearful blizzard killed cattle by the thousands. J. F. Allen returned to Meriden—both his cattle and his stake were gone. He took a job as a bookkeeper with a small, new printing firm, Eaton and Peck, located in a small building on Billard Street in Meriden. By the end of 1888 Allen had borrowed enough money to purchase the business, and the Meriden Gravure Company was born. Allen continued to make halftones for about three years. But then a trip to New York to visit the studios of artist Alfred Bierstadt changed the direction of Meriden Gravure.

PRINTING RETROSPECTIVE

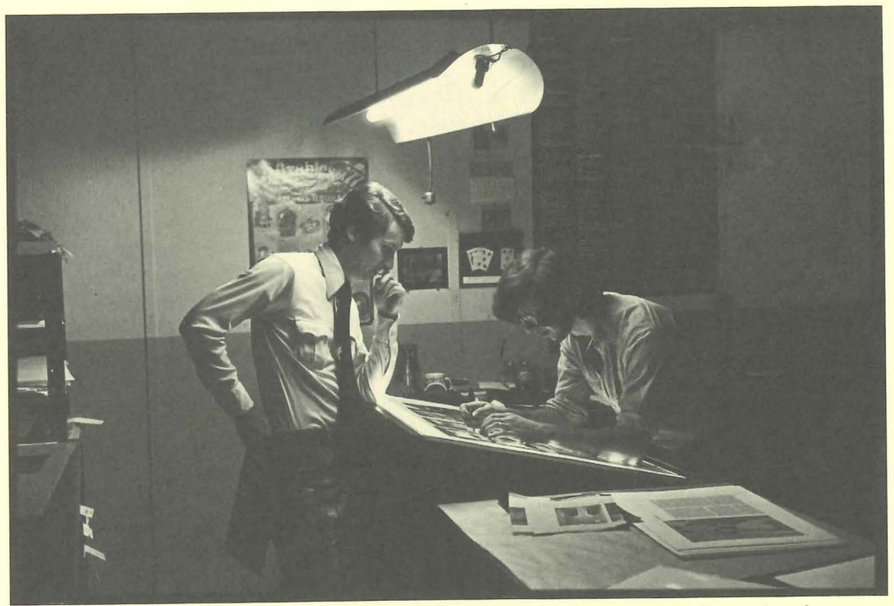
Two events in the late eighteenth century advanced the printing of illustrations significantly and affected the road Meriden Gravure would travel.

Thomas Bewick, a young Englishman apprenticed to a copperplate engraver, developed a wood engraving of white lines on a black background rather than black lines on a white ground, and second, Bewick substituted the hardwood box tree for the softer planks of pear or apple. This new technique of cutting on the end grain of the wood produced a more detailed engraving.

Then in 1793 Alois Senefelder invented lithography. The romantic story of that discovery has been recounted by Douglas McMurtrie.[4] Senefelder, at the age of 18, wrote a dramatic sketch for a Munich, Germany carnival troupe. He fancied himself a writer, but without resources to print his material. After unsuccessful experiments writing reverse letters on copper and zinc plates, Senefelder turned his attention to polished stone and consequently wrote what McMurtrie called the "most important laundry list in all history."

Senefelder's mother asked him to write a list of the family wash. With no paper at hand he wrote the list on polished stone using ink composed of wax, soap

Venerable office (right) and production buildings belie the modern sophisticated presses within.



Experience and a careful eye for the final product are evident in the concentration at Gravure's make-up table.

and lampblack. His curiosity pushed him to etch the stone, and the result was a plate with written characters in low relief. Several thousand experiments followed; however, lithography had been invented.

Wood engraving fulfilled the public's desire for more and more illustrations in all types of printed materials until about 1880, when photoengraving replaced wood engraving as a handicraft.

Printing of illustrations can be accomplished by three broad methods. Planographic includes lithography, offset lithography, and collotype. Relief includes halftones, wood engravings, and line etchings. In the latter process, the nonprinting sections are etched or cut away; the upper surface of the relief is inked by the roller and makes an impression on the paper. Third is the intaglio process, in which the pictures are cut or etched into the plate below the surface. The plate is inked, the top surface is wiped clean, and the ink in the depressions is transferred onto the paper.

The word *collotype*—an intaglio process in which inked impressions are made directly from a gelatine plate without the use of a screen—comes from the Greek *collo,* meaning gelatin. Although collotype printing is slow, and the plates can be used only for a limited number of copies, it lends itself to small runs of fine printing. It was this process that J. F. Allen observed in the studio of Alfred Bierstadt, an artist in the Hudson River tradition. Allen watched as Bierstadt's brother pulled beautiful images of the painter's work. Allen recognized the possibilities of collotype and carried the process back to Meriden.

EARLY CATALOGUES

By this time Meriden's most significant industries centered about the manufacture of silverware: Rogers Silverplate dates from 1847, the Meriden Britannia Company was organized in 1852, and by 1898 the giant International Silver Company had absorbed most of the small Connecticut silver companies. Allen went to the International Silver Company and demonstrated the elegant and unique work accomplished through collotype. Meriden Gravure started printing loose-leaf catalogues for the International Silver salesmen. The illustrations, printed on lightweight bond paper, were meticulous copies of the chasing, patina, and engraving of the items for sale. Meriden Gravure prospered. They added more silver companies to their roster of customers, and then they acquired glassware companies from Pennsylvania.

J. F. Allen was a tough taskmaster. He was a stern man, well respected by his craftsmen. Meriden Gravure's hand press produced fifty prints a day; J. F. Allen's goal was a hundred prints a day. The men were paid by the number of acceptable prints they could turn out, and the inspection was done by women.

After his graduation from Yale in 1923, Parker Allen joined his father at Meriden Gravure. On November 4, 1924, Parker Allen hired E. Harold Hugo, the man who would expand the tradition of the Meriden Gravure Company and bring it distinction and admiration in the world printing community.

Inspecting galley proofs is John Peckham, right, consulting with a member of the production team.

Focal point of Gravure-Stinehour is the press room as three production men on the right check offset printing results.

HUGOS COME TO MERIDEN

The Hugos, Esther and Otto and their three sons, had moved to Meriden from Stamford at the urging of Otto Hugo's uncle, who lived alone in Meriden. The Hugos settled on a street close to the Meriden Gravure Company, and Otto was hired as night watchman at the plant.

In 1924 Connecticut law allowed fourteen-year-olds to work, and Harold Hugo, the oldest son, badgered Parker Allen until Allen agreed to hire him after school and on Saturdays. Young Harold swept floors, ran errands, and by 1928 was promoted to the office. From 1924 to 1928 Hugo was Meriden Gravure's troubleshooter. He learned about presses. He worked in the plate room and in the stockroom. At that time Meriden Gravure had done some work for the Smithsonian Institution, but their principal customers were International Silver, General Electric Company, AT&T, and Westinghouse.

In 1928 J. F. Allen died and his son, Parker, became president and treasurer, with Hugo as his assistant. Hugo left Meriden Gravure to enter Northeastern University, but at the end of his freshman year Allen urged him to return to Meriden. He did so and was named salesman for the firm.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

During the early days of the Great Depression Meriden Gravure's orders kept a staff of sixty working. Nineteen thirty was their best year in fact, but then in a six-month period during 1931–32 business dropped by 50 percent, forcing Parker Allen to lay off all but a nucleus staff of workers on a thirty-hour week. But Harold Hugo and Parker Allen knew that something must be done to rescue the ailing concern.

Salesman Hugo had an idea. He visited Carl Dunbar, director of New Haven's Peabody Museum, with whom he discussed scholarly collotype work then being produced at European printing centers. Dunbar suggested that Meriden Gravure try its hand at printing Chester Reed's *The Permain of Mongolia* for the Museum of Natural History in New York. Meriden made proofs and sample pages, which Dunbar approved. It was a start.

In 1931 Hugo came to Parker Allen with the idea that he travel through the Midwest to visit college and museum printing departments. Hugo came back empty-handed. Later that same year Hugo proposed another trip, this time from Meriden to San Francisco, again to visit colleges and museums. Hugo spent $400 for the ten-week trip. Still no orders came to Meriden Gravure.

''Then in two or three years, the trips and visits started to pay off and it has been going pretty much the same ever since,'' said Harold Hugo in an interview at the Meriden Plant.

YEARS OF EXPERIMENTATION

In the years following 1931 Meriden Gravure experimented with the collotype

process, trying a harder emulsion so the Meriden could compete with letterpress. Jobs came from the Plimpton Press, the Merrymount Press, and the Southworth Press. Meriden Gravure's first color collotype was a poster for the Gorham Silver Company.

European printers were still in the forefront of color printing. When Meriden Gravure printed the *Utrecht Psalter* in 1931 the color frontispiece was printed in Austria. In 1932 Meriden Gravure printed the *Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament* for the University of Chicago. Again the color plates were printed in Austria.

Experiments with collotype plates on an offset press failed in 1938; however, experiments in color on a rotary press continued. The first success came with a job for printing a frontispiece for the Sachs and Mongan *Drawings in the Fogg Museum*. The drawing came to Meriden to be photographed, and Hugo estimated that Meriden Gravure printed 3,000 copies to get the 500 acceptable prints ordered in three-color collotype. As Harold Hugo remembers it, the job probably cost $300, an astronomical sum in those days.

In spite of experiencing continued difficult problems with register in the collotype process, Hugo recalled that in 1939 he and Parker Allen decided to bid on the job of printing Louis Ledoux's Japanese prints for The Japan Society. Although the men had no samples with them, they were given the job. ''For the Ledoux prints,'' said Hugo, ''we used as many as twenty-five colors. That cost us our shirts too.''

At the start of World War II Meriden Gravure was still printing materials for The Japan Society, and some of the plant workers questioned working for the society. Hugo replied, ''Look, we're not fighting these Japanese. These are works of art.'' The second volume of Japanese prints was completed in 1943.

''The shift from collotype to offset was purely a matter of personnel,'' explained Hugo. ''We shut down two presses in 1942, the day after the boss left for Europe and the war. We dismantled them...[and] converted them to bullets. We had five collotype presses left.''

Paper restrictions during the war years added to Meriden Gravure's problems. Soon they found themselves engaged in war work. Meriden Gravure had purchased its first offset press in 1938, and it proved to be their salvation during the war years. Production included instruction manuals for the services. A description of the firing mechanism on a destroyer comprised a 200-page book.

In August 1945, when Hugo added up the finances of the Gravure for the preceding twelve months, he realized that a healthy portion had come from offset business. Meriden Gravure had reached the end of the war with a masterful knowledge in the offset lithography field and a dwindling supply of pressmen who could operate the collotype presses. It had become evident to Hugo that youngsters entering the printing profession were not interested in learning a craft that printed 800 to 1,000 impressions a day when offset produced 3,000 copies in one hour.

Harold Hugo said, ''We placed an order for a new offset press right after the war and our Harris press was delivered in 1948. That was the year we knew we could see the end of the collotype business. At first there was no comparison between collotype and offset; collotype was infinitely better. But we worked at it and we have developed offset where now, in many respects, it is much better than collotype.''

Two elderly pressmen retired in 1967. At that point Meriden Gravure simply had no craftsmen left to run its collotype presses, and that marked the end of collotype at the plant.

Meriden's early experimentation with offset made it possible for them to exceed the excellence it had produced in collotype; however, the process was not easy. One of the advantages of collotype is the lack of a screen; you have grain. Meriden started its offset experiments with a 150-line screen while standard halftones used a 133-line screen. In all their efforts, Meriden Gravure attempted to reproduce as closely as possible the fine work they had done with collotype. When Eastman Kodak developed a 300-line screen Meriden Gravure acquired the first small piece, probably eight inches by an inch and a half. Once polished metal plates were available the process became better—and better and better.

PECKHAM JOINS MERIDEN

When Parker Allen went off to war on July 4, 1942, Hugo was named manager of Meriden Gravure. John F. Peckham, a young graduate of Princeton University who once thought he would like to become a book designer, joined the staff of the Meriden Gravure Company. Peckham had majored in the classics and was working at the Princeton University Press when Harold Hugo recruited him.

At the close of World War II, Parker Allen was discharged from the Army. He returned to Meriden to devote himself to the older family business in Meriden, The Charles Parker Company.

In 1967 Harold Hugo was named president of Meriden Gravure with Peckham as his right hand. With the exception of a stint in the service in 1951, Peckham remained with the printing firm. He was named president in 1975 when Hugo retired.

THE STINEHOUR PRESS

For 25 years, beginning in 1953, Meriden Gravure had done business with a small, unique letterpress printing and binding firm located in Lunenburg, Vermont, just over the line from Lancaster, New Hampshire. Roderick Stinehour, founder of the enterprise that bears his name, had been a student in Professor Ray Nash's lecture and workshop course on art and the history of the book at Dartmouth College. Stinehour developed an interest in fine printing.

During World War II Roderick Stinehour had been a fighter pilot in the Navy,

and after the war he and his brother opened a school to teach flying to ex-servicemen eligible for the G.I. Bill. At first, the venture was successful, but soon the school ran out of candidates and Stinehour returned to printing.

Lunenburg is a farming community thirty miles south of the Canadian border. Stinehour found a job in a small print shop. He apprenticed himself to the owner, and several years later he bought the business. It was Stinehour's ambition to run a one-man shop and to concentrate on beautiful printing projects. However, the success of The Stinehour Press necessitated expansion and more employees.

The Stinehour Press specializes in letterpress printing, typography, and binding; the Meriden's specialty is offset lithography.

Peckham remembered that the first joint venture with Stinehour occurred in 1953, when Roderick Stinehour came to Meriden Gravure for his illustrations. ''From then on,'' said Peckham, ''we worked together. He bought illustrations from us. We bought type composition from him.

''I was concerned about what would happen after I retired,'' said Peckham. ''I got together with Harold Hugo and a few others. We agreed that the thing to do was to merge with the Stinehour Press.'' And that has provided the succession that allowed John Peckham to retire assured of the successful continuation of Meriden Gravure.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES

Meriden Gravure's official collaboration with The Stinehour Press dates from January 1, 1977. When Harold Hugo retired as board chairman of the new corporation, Meriden-Stinehour, Inc., he was succeeded by Roderick Stinehour. Until his retirement in 1984 at age 66 John Peckham held two positions—vice president of Meriden-Stinehour, Inc. and president of Meriden Gravure.

Now Peckham remains with Meriden Gravure as a valued consultant. Most days he stops into the Billard Street printing office, for he is a source of priceless information about customers all over the United States and printing projects.

Harold Hugo continues to visit his office at Meriden Gravure to read the New York *Times,* to enjoy his unique collection of fine prints and incunabula in the fascinating clutter that is his office, and to keep his hand in—just a bit.

Two young men further assure the continuation of another generation at Meriden-Stinehour. Stephen Stinehour, son of Roderick Stinehour, is the new president of Meriden Gravure, and Gregg Hugo, son of Harold Hugo, is plant superintendent of the Meriden division.

ARTISTS AND EXPERTS

John Peckham recalled that his days at Meriden Gravure were days not filled only with inks and presses. Artists, authors, and experts in various aspects of printing come to Meriden Gravure. Georgia O'Keeffe came to scrutinize the Alfred Stieglitz

volume of O'Keeffe's photographs.

About fifteen years ago Meriden Gravure was printing the illustrations for several volumes on the occult, one of many scholarly and eclectic publishing ventures supported by the Mellons' Bollingen Foundation. Princeton University handles the publishing commitments of the foundation, and one day Princeton told Peckham that an expert in the field would arrive in Meriden to check the occult project proofs.

Peckham arrived at the Meriden railroad depot expecting an aged professor, dusty from years of studying the occult in carrels. Descending from the train was a regal and handsome woman in her sixties, Professor Natasha Rambova. Professor Rambova enchanted the Meriden's staff. Later, when Peckham called Princeton to discuss Rambova's visit, he learned that she was the widow of Rudolph Valentino.

MERIDEN GRAVURE'S FUTURE

What about the future? Do spiraling costs worry Peckham?

''In a very healthy way all of us have to be very careful how we operate. Sure, it worries me . . . just the way everyone is concerned about inflation. The people who survive are the people who use their particular age in history to be productive and accomplish things.

''Fifty years from now people may look back and say this was the finest, happiest time in the whole history of the country. It's hard to say. We have no perspective when we're right in the middle of it. The individual companies with astute management will survive,'' said Peckham.

Is there less money around for major projects?

''Right now, because some government subsidies have fallen off, there is a tendency for panic in academic circles which says: the great days are over, the government is no longer supporting the arts.

''In actual fact the reverse is astounding. Because people are so sure there is no money around, they are not even applying for grants, and money is available. I know of one museum that received money for three catalogs, simply because there were fewer requests,'' Peckham recounted.

Peckham felt that the answer to financial backing is not the government's alone. Subsidies come in many ways—from private university presses and from public and private foundations.

Peckham said, ''There is a tendency to overlook the private foundations that keep a low profile. Scholarly publications in this country could not exist without a subsidy. No, it's not a black picture at all.

''The real question in the long run is the quality of life itself, the quality of the way in which we live and whether we have the capacity to create—in art and in literature and in thought and in wisdom.

''If we become completely materialistic, the chances are we won't be able to handle the judgment, balance and wisdom necessary to govern our own affairs,'' concluded John Peckham.

ELEANOR KELMAN, writer and librarian, was editor of two weekly newspapers. She has written on education, social problems and Connecticut history.

PRINTING HIGHLIGHTS OF THE MERIDEN GRAVURE COMPANY

William Bartram's *Botanical Zoological Drawings, 1756–1788,* a facsimile printed for the American Philosophical Society. Bartram was America's first naturalist.

Sebastiano Serlio on Domestic Architecture, facsimile of the first printed book in which the image rather than the word became the chief conveyor of information. Printed in 1978.

The Ristigauche and Its Salmon Fishing, a $1,000 per copy facsimile for The Angler's and Shooter's Press, Goshen, Connecticut. This was produced on handmade French paper with handbound leather binding.

Catesby: Natural History, a facsimile for the Beehive Press in Savannah, Georgia; a collection of two hundred birds, beasts, fish, serpents, insects, and plants painted by Mark Catesby in 1682–83. This volume was printed by Meriden Gravure in 1974.

Three books of autographs, letters, manuscripts, early printed books, and drawings from 1924 to 1974 for the Pierpont Morgan Library.

The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530, for the Pierpont Morgan Library.

Atlas of the Lewis and Clark Expeditions, a one-volume collection of maps for the University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Images of the Mind, Wen C. Fong. Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984.

Alfred Stieglitz—Photographs and Writings, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1983.

Facsimile edition of Johannes Brahms *Alto Opus 53 Rhapsody* from composer's manuscript, Music Division, New York Public Library.

Facsimile edition of 83 chorale preludes, including the recently found thirty-three by Bach—work now in progress.

REFERENCES

1. Charles Davis, *History of Wallingford* (Meriden, 1870), 432–34.
2. W. A. Croffu and John M. Morris, *Military and Civil History of Connecticut* (New York, 1868), 46.
3. Albert E. Van Dusen, *Connecticut* (New York, 1961), 246.
4. Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Book—The Story of Printing and Bookmaking* (New York, 1967), 550–52.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Oral Histories

Hugo, Harold E. The Meriden Gravure Company, Meriden, Connecticut.
Peckham, John F. The Meriden Gravure Company, Meriden, Connecticut.

Books

Blumenthal, Joseph. *The Printed Book in America.* Boston: Dartmouth College Library, 1977.

Breckenridge, F. A. *Recollections of a New England Town.* Meriden, Conn., 1899.

Croffu, W. A., and Morris, John M. *Military and Civil History of Connecticut.* New York, 1868.

Davis, Charles. *History of Wallingford.* Meriden, Conn., 1870.

Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut, Silver, Rollo G., and Wroth, Lawrence C. *The Book in America: A History of the Making and Selling of Books in the United States.* New York: Bowker, 1951.

McMurtrie, Douglas C. *The Book—The Story of Printing and Bookmaking.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1943.

Nash, Ray. *Printing as an Art.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955.

Ransom, Will. *Private Presses and Their Books.* New York: Bowker, 1929.

Thomas, Isaiah. *The History of Printing in America.* New York: Weathervane Books, 1970.

Van Dusen, Albert E. *Connecticut.* New York: Random House, 1961.

Tax-Free Life Income Plan Will Benefit Society

A Pooled Income Fund has been established by a local bank, serving as a receptacle for deferred gifts to the New Haven Foundation. Donors contemplating a bequest to the New Haven Foundation for whatever purposes are encouraged to consider instead a capital gift to this Fund, which will yield income to the donor for his or her lifetime before reverting to the Foundation.

A long-time friend of the New Haven Colony Historical Society recently furnished generous future support for the Society in this way, transferring capital to the Pooled Income Fund for the eventual benefit of the Society via the New Haven Foundation. He, meanwhile, enjoys the income, while taking advantage of special tax benefits under current IRS regulations.

These benefits can be explained to anyone interested in helping the Society with a future gift of endowment, by myself or Board member Brooks Shepard.

Mrs. Frank C. Hepler
Chairman, Development Committee

The New Haven Colony Historical Society
114 Whitney Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut 06510

Non-profit org.
U. S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 38
New Haven, Conn.